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A
COLLECTION
OF
Voyages and Travels,
IN
THREE PARTS.

PART I.

The dangerous Voyage of Capt. THOMAS JAMES, in attempting to discover a North-west Passage to the SOUTH-SEA; with an Account of their passing the Winter in an uninhabited Island, &c. This is remarkable for its Integrity and Simplicity. With a MAP.

PART II.

The Sieur POINTIS's Voyage to AMERICA; with an Account of the taking *Carthagena* by the *French* in 1697. Also an Account of the several Engagements they had with the *English* in their Return to *Brest*. To which is added, a new and accurate MAP.

PART III.

A Description of the *English* Province of CAROLANA; by the *Spaniards* call'd FLORIDA, and by the *French* LA LOUISIANE, viz. A Description of the People, Animals, Vegetables, Metals, Minerals, and other rich and valuable Commodities this Province naturally produces.

With a Large and Judicious

P R E F A C E,

Proving the Right of the ENGLISH to that Country; the Manner of the *French* usurping great Part of it; and the great Danger our Colonies on the Continent will be expos'd to, if not timely prevented: With many useful REMARKS regarding our PLANTATIONS in general. Collected from authentick Journals, Travels, &c. of the *English* in that Country; the Originals of which are now in the Possession of Dr. COXE, at *Richmond* in SURREY.

By DANIEL COXE, Esq; K

To which is added,
A Large and Accurate MAP of CAROLANA, and of the
River MESCHACEBE

Printed for and sold by OLIVE PAYNE, at *Horace's Head* in *Pope's-Head-Alley*, *Cornhill*, opposite the *Royal Exchange*, 1741.
[Price Bound 5 s.] N. B. Either Part may be had separate,

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THE
DANGEROUS
VOYAGE
OF

Capt. Thomas James,

In his intended Discovery of a

NORTH WEST PASSAGE

INTO THE

SOUTH SEA:

WHEREIN

The Miseries indured, both Going, Wintering and Returning, and the Rarities observ'd Philosophical, Mathematical and Natural are related in this JOURNAL of it, publish'd by the Special Command of King CHARLES I.

To which is added,

A Map for Sailing in those Seas: Also divers Tables of the Author's of the Variation of the Compass, &c. With an Appendix concerning the Longitude, by Master GELLIBRAND, Astronomy Reader at Gresham College.

The SECOND EDITION, Revised and Corrected.

L O N D O N:

Printed in 1633, and now Reprinted for O. PAYNE, at *Horace's Head*, in *Popes's Head Alley*, *Cornhill*, over-against the *Royal Exchange*. MDCCXL.

(Price bound Two Shillings and Six Pence.)

THE
DANGEROUS
NOYALGIA

Cape Town
North West
South

SOUTH

THE
DANGEROUS
NOYALGIA

THE
DANGEROUS
NOYALGIA

THE
DANGEROUS
NOYALGIA

THE
DANGEROUS
NOYALGIA



TO THE
King's Most Excellent
MAJESTY.

MY being made Choice of
for this Imployment, and
my Undertaking in it en-
courag'd by Your graci-
ous Command ; I must account the
greatest Honour, that ever besel me.
Many a Storm, and Rock, and Mist,
and Wind, and Tide, and Sea, and
Mount of Ice, have I in this Discove-
ry encounter'd with ; many a Despair,
and Death had, almost, overwhelm'd
me, but still the Remembrance of the
Account

The DEDICATION.

Account that I was to give of it to Your Majesty, put me in Heart again, made me not to give Way to my own Fears, or the Infirmities of Humanity. Your Majesty in my Employment, like a true Father of your Country, intended the Good of Your Subjects: And who is not bound to bless God for Your Royal Care in it? Had it been my Fortune to have done my Country this Service, as to have brought Home the News of this suppos'd and long sought for Passage, then would the Merchant have enjoy'd the Sweetness of the hoped for Profit, and the Subject have been sensible of the Benefit of Your Majesty's Royal Intentions in it. I have done my good Will in it, and tho' not brought Home that News; yet I shall here divulge those Observations, which may I hope become some Way beneficial to my Country. The Account of them, I here, with all Humility, offer unto Your most judicious Majesty. Your gracious Acceptance of what I had done, tho' I had not done what
was

The DEDICATION.

was expected, emboldeneth me to do so; and since Your Majesty was pleased to signify Your Desires, of having a Brief of my Voyage presented unto You; that Word became a Command unto me, to draw this rude Abstract of it. Your Majesty will please to consider, That they were rough Elements, which I had to do withal; and will vouchsafe to pardon, if a Seaman's Stile be like what he most converseth with. Therefore, since Your Majesty hath been so gracious to me, as to appoint me Your Servant, I am now bound to vow you my Service, and it shall be my Honour to be commanded it, and shall account no Dangers too great, in going thro' it. These are the Resolutions of

Your Majesty's

most humble Subject and Servant,

THOMAS JAMES.

To my worthy Friend and Fellow-
Templer, Capt. JAMES.



HAVE perused your Journal. To commend it, were to dispraise it; Good Wine needs no Bush: *Mos est fæda coloribus abdere*: Yet this I must needs say, you have shew'd yourself to be a Master of your Art. The

Worth of a Warrior and Pilot is never discover-
ed but in Storms and Skir-

• Miles in acie probatur
Gubernator in tempesta-
te dignoscitur.

mishes*; and how many Skir-
mishes of Storms and Tempests

you have past, this Journal of yours doth sufficiently manifest: Go on then, as you have began well, and when any good Occasion is offer'd, second your good Beginnings with suitable Proceedings, and let not the cold Entertainment you have had in the frozen Seas, freeze up your Affections in undertaking other worthy Employments. So may you deserve, with Columbus, Drake, and Frobisher, to have the Remembrance of you smell sweetly in the Nostrils of Posterity, when you are in the Dust. Farewell,


Inner Temple.

THO. NASH.

Advertisement concerning this Edition.

THE universal good Character this Voyage has among the Judicious for its Integrity and Simplicity, and the great Scarcity of it (having been sold for 15 s. and a Guinea, in several Auctions) are sufficient Motives for the reprinting of it; likewise we hope it will prove useful and agreeable to the Publick.

OLIVE PAYNE,



PREPARATIONS

Made for the

VOYAGE.



IA VING been many Years importun'd, by my honourable and worthy Friends, to undertake the Discovery of that Part of the World, which is commonly call'd, *The North West Passage* into the *South Sea*, and so to proceed to *Japan*, and to round the World to the Westward; being press'd forward withal, by the earnest Desire the King's most excellent Majesty had, to be satisfied thereof; I acquainted my good Friends, the Merchants of *Bristol*, with my Design, who freely offer'd to be at the Charge of furnishing Shipping for that Purpose. And being thus enabled, I address'd myself to the Honourable Sir *Thomas Roe*, Kt. (as the most learned; and the greatest Traveller by Sea or Land, this Day in *England*) who most graciously accepted of the Offer, and encourag'd me by many Favours in my Undertaking. Therefore with all Speed I contriv'd in my Mind, the best Model I could; whereby I might effect my Design. The Adventurers Money was instantly ready,

Preparations made for the Voyage.

dy, and put into a Treasurer's Hand, that there might be no Want of present Pay, for any Thing I thought necessary for the Voyage.

I was ever of Opinion, that this particular Action might be better effected by one Ship, than more; because in those icy Seas, so much subject to Fogs, they might be easily separated; I forbear to speak of Storms and other Accidents, as a Rendezvous in Discoveries, cannot surely or without much Hinderance be appointed; and that speedy Perseverance is the Life of such a Business: Therefore I resolv'd to have but one Ship, the Ship-boat, and a Shallop.

A great Ship, as by former Experience I had found, was unfit to be forc'd through the Ice; therefore I made Choice of a well condition'd, strong Ship, of the Burthen of 70 Tons; and in God and that only Ship, to put the Hope of my future Fortune.

The Ship being resolv'd upon, and that in less Time than Eighteen Months our Voyage could not be effected; I next consider'd how our Ship of 70 Tons in Bulk and Weight might be proportioned; in Victuals, and other Necessaries: This was all done, as soon as we could; and the Number of Men it would serve, at ordinary Allowance, for the foremention'd Time, was found to be, twenty two, a small Number to perform such a Business, yet double the Number sufficient to sail the Ship.

The Baker, Brewer, Butcher, and others, undertake their Offices upon their Credit; knowing it to be a general Business, and their utter undoing if they fail'd in the Performance, but truly they prov'd themselves Masters in their Arts; and have my Praise for their honest Care: In
them

Preparations made for the Voyage.

them consisted great Part of the Performance of the Voyage.

The Carpenters go in Hand with the Ship, to make her as strong and serviceable, as possibly they could.

Every Thing being duly proportion'd, and my small Number of Men known, I began to think of the Quality and Ability they should be of.

Voluntary Loiterers I at first disclaim'd, and publish'd I would have all unmarried, approved, able, and healthy Seamen: In a few Days an abundant Number presented themselves; furnish'd with Experience in marine Affairs. I first made Choice of a Boatswain; and some to work with him, for fitting the Rigging of the Ship; and as Things went forward shipp'd the Subordinate Crew; and all Things being perfectly ready, I shipp'd the Master's Mates; and last of all, the Master of my Ship, and my Lieutenant. The whole Company were Strangers to me, and to each other; but yet privately recommended by worthy Merchants, for their Ability and Fidelity. I was sought to by divers, that had been in Places of the chief Command in this Action formerly; and others also that had us'd the Northerly Icy Seas; but I utterly refus'd them all; and would by no Means have any with me that had been in the like Voyage, or Adventure, for some private Reasons unnecessary here to be related; keeping thus the Power in my own Hands I had all the Men to acknowledge immediate Dependance upon myself alone, both for Direction and disposing of all, as well of the Navigation, as all other Things whatsoever.

In

Preparations made for the Voyage.

In the mean Time, the better to strengthen my former Studies in this Business, I sought after *Journals, Charts, Discourses*, or whatever else might help my Understanding.

I set skilful Workmen to make me *Quadrants, Staves, Semicircles, &c.* as much, namely, as concern the Fabrick of them; not trusting to their mechanick Hands, to divide them; but had them divided by an ingenious Practitioner in the *Mathematicks*. I likewise had *Compass Needles* made after the most reasonable and truest Way that could be thought of; and by the First of *April*, every Thing was ready to be put together into our hopeful Ship.

In the mean Time, I made a Journey to *London*, to know His Majesty's further Pleasure, and to make known to him my Readiness; who calling for the foremention'd Honourable Knight, (*Sir Thomas Roe*,) I speedily after receiv'd His Majesty's Royal Letters, with Directions for proceeding in my Voyage, and my Discharge: Whereupon, I had forth the Ship into the Road, expecting a fair Wind to begin the Voyage.



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VOYAGE

For Discovering a

North West Passage

TO THE

SOUTH SEA.



HE Second of *May* 1631, I took my Leave of the Worshipful Merchant Adventurers in this Action, in the City of *Bristol*: And being accompanied with the Rev. Mr. *Palmer*, and several of the Merchants and others, I repaired aboard. Where Mr. *Palmer* made a Sermon, exhorting us to continue brotherly Love amongst us, and to be bold to profess the true Christian Religion where-ever we should happen, in this our Peregrination. After they had receiv'd such Entertainment, as my Estate could afford them; they departed for *Bristol*. This Afternoon, I made a Review of all Things; Clothes, Necessaries, and Victuals.

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THE

The 3d of *May* (after Prayer for good Success on our Endeavours) about three in the Afternoon we sail'd down the *Severn*, with little Wind, to the Westward of *Lundy*; where the Wind opposed us so strongly that we were obliged to anchor in *Lundy Road*, the 5th in the Evening; where we remain'd till the 8th in the Morning. Now hoping the Wind would favour us, we sail'd; but were forc'd to put into *Melford*, where we anchor'd about Midnight. Here we remain'd till the 17th in the Morning; when with the first fair Wind, we proceeded and doubled about *Cape Cleer* off *Ireland*. The 22d we were in Lat. 51 : 26, and the Blaskes did beat off us North-East, about twelve Leagues off: which Blaskes is in Lat. 52 : 4. Here I order'd the Course that should be kept, which was generally W. N. W. as the Wind would permit; which in this Course and Distance is very variable. The 4th of *June* we made the Land of *Greenland*; standing in with it to have Knowledge of the trending of it; it prov'd very foul Weather; and the next Day, by two in the Morning, we found ourselves encompassed with Ice, and endeavouring to clear ourselves of it (by Reason we could not see far about us) we were the more engag'd, and struck many fearful Blows against it: At length, we made fast to a great Piece, (it blowing very hard) and with Poles wrought Day and Night to keep off the Ice; in which Labour we broke all our Poles. The 6th, about two in the Morning, we were beset with many extraordinary great Pieces of Ice, that came upon us, as it were with Violence, and doubtless would have crushed us to Pieces, if we had not let fall some Sail, which the Ship presently felt. In escaping that Danger, we ran against another great Piece,
that

that we doubted whether our Ship had not been stav'd to Pieces: But pumping, we found she made no Water. The former Pieces of Ice, had crush'd our Shallop all to Pieces; wherefore I caus'd our long Boat speedily to be had up from betwixt the Decks, and put over Board: By the Help whereof we recover'd our broken Shallop; and had her upon the Deck, intending to new build her. All this Day, we beat, and were beaten fearfully, amongst the Ice; it blowing a very Storm. In the Evening, we were inclosed among great Pieces, as high as our Poop: and some of the sharp blue Corners of them, reach'd quite under us. All these great Pieces, by Reason it was the Outside of the Ice, did heave and set, and so beat us, that it was wonderfull how the Ship could indure one Blow of it; (*but it was God's only Preservation of us, to whom be all Honour and Glory.*) In this Extremity, I made the Men to let fall, and make what Sail they could; and the Ship forc'd herself through it, though so toss'd and beaten, as I think never Ship was. When we were clear, we tried the Pumps, and found them stanch: Upon which we went instantly to Prayer, *to praise God for his merciful Delivery of us.*

The 7th and 8th Days, we endeavour'd to double about Cape *Farewell*; being still pester'd with much Ice.

The 9th, we were in Lat. 59. 60. and we made Account the Cape *Farewell* bare off us due E. and some ten Leagues off. The Blasques in *Ireland*, is in Lat. 52. 4. and Cape *Farewel* in Lat. 59. 00. The Course is W. N. W. and the Distance about 410 Leagues: I know very well these Latitudes, Courses and Distance, do not exactly agree with mathematical Conclusions:

But thus we found it by Practice. The Variation of the Compass in Lat. 52. 30. and 30 Leagues to the Westward of *Ireland*, is about 3. 00. to the Eastward, in Lat. 57. 00. about 310 Leag. W. N. W. from the Blasques, the Compass doth vary 9. 00. to the Westward; In Lat. 59. 15. some 40 Leagues to the Eastward, of Cape *Farewel*, the Variation is 14. 45. In this Course, I have been observant whether there were any Current that did set to the N. E. as some have written there did, and that as well in calm Weather, as otherwise; but I could not perceive any. The Winds here are variable, and the Seas of an unsearchable Depth. We have not seen from *Ireland* hitherto, any Whales or other Fish; the Weather, for the most part, was foggy.

The 10th, all the Morning, was very foul Weather, and a high-grown Sea; altho' we had Ice about us, and some Pieces, as high as our Top-mast-head. Our long Boat which we were fain to tow at Stern, by reason we were building our Shallop on our Deck, broke away, and put us to some Trouble to recover her again. This we did, and brought her into the Ship, though very much bruised, and had two Men much hurt. By eight in the Evening, we were shot up as high as Cape *Desolation*; for finding the Land to trend away N. and by E. we certainly knew it to be the Cape. It stands in Lat. 60. 00. and the Land from Cape *Farewel* to it, trends N. W. the Distance about 40 Leagues, the Course W. half a Point N. The Latitude of the South End of the Island, being 61. 20. some twelve Leagues to the Westward of Cape *Desolation*, the Variation is 16. 00. In this Course, we were much tormented, pestered and beaten with the Ice; many Pieces being higher than our Top-mast-Head,

Head. In our Way, we saw many Grampusses amongst the Ice; and it seemeth the Sea is full of them: The Weather for the most Part, a stinking Fog, and the Sea very black; which I conceive to be occasion'd by Reason of the Fog.

The 17th at Night, we heard the Track of the Shore, as we thought; but it prov'd to be the Rut against a Bank of Ice, that lay on the Shore. It made a hollow and hideous Noise, like an Overfall of Water; which made us to reason among ourselves concerning it, for we were not able to see about us, it being dark Night, and foggy. We stood off from it, till Break of Day, then in again: And about Four in the Morning we saw the Land above the Fog, which we knew to be the Island of *Resolution*. This last Night was so cold, that all our Rigg- ing and Sails were frozen. We endeavour'd to compass about the Southern Point of the Island; being so pester'd with the Ice, and thick Fog. Here runs a quick Tide into the Streight, but the Ebb is as strong as the Flood: The Fog was of such a piercing Nature, that it spoil'd all our Compasses, and made them flag, and so heavy withal that they would not traverse. Where- fore I would advise any, that shall sail this Way hereafter, to provide Compasses of *Moscow* Glass, or some other Matter, that will endure the Moi- sture of the Weather. As the Fog clear'd up, we could see the Entrance of the Streight to be full of Ice close thron'd together. Indea- vouring to go forward, we were fast inclosed among it, and so drove to and again with it, finding no Ground at 230 Fath. 4 Leag. from the Shore.

The 20th in the Morning, we had got about the Southern Point of the Island; and the Wind came up at West, and drove both us and the Ice upon the Shore. When we were driven within 2 Leagues of the Shore, we came among the strongest Whirlings of the Sea, that possibly can be conceiv'd; there were divers great Pieces of Ice aground in 40 Fath. Water, and the Ebb coming out of the broken Grounds of the Island, among these Isles of Ice, made such a Distraction that we were carried round, sometimes close by the Rocks, and sometimes close by those high Pieces, that we were afraid they would fall upon us. We were so beaten likewise with the encountering of the Ice, that we were in a most desperate Estate: We made fast two great Pieces of Ice to our Side, with our Kedger and Grapnels, that drew 9 or 10 Fath. that so they might be aground before us, if so be we were driven on the Shore; but that Design fail'd us: And now from the Top seeing in among the Rocks, I sent the Boat, (for now we had finish'd her) to see if she could find some Place of Security, but she was no sooner parted, but she was inclosed, and driven to hale up on the Ice, or else she had been crush'd to Pieces. They ran her over the Ice from Piece to Piece, and in the mean while with the whirling and encountring of the Ice, the two Pieces brake away from our Sides, and carried away our Kedger and Grapnels: Then we made Signs to the Boat, to make all the Haste she could to us, which she perceiving did: The Men being with much Difficulty forc'd to hale her over many Pieces of Ice. In the mean time, we made some Sail, and got to that Piece of Ice, that had our Grapnel on it, which we again recover'd. By this Time, our Boat was come, and

the SOUTH SEA.

we put a fresh Crew into her, and sent her to fetch our Kedger, which she endeavour'd with much Danger of Boat and Men. By this Time, the Ship was driven so near the Shore, that we could see the Rocks under us and about us; and we should be carried by the Whirlings of the Waters, close by the Points of Rocks, and then round about back again; and all this, notwithstanding the Sail we had aboard; that we expected continually when she would be beaten to Pieces. In this Extremity, I made them to open more Sail, and to force her in among the Rocks and broken Grounds, and where there was many great Pieces of Ice aground. We went over Rocks that had but 12 or 13 Feet Water on them; and so let fall an Anchor. This Anchor had never been able to wind up the Ship, but that, by good Fortune, the Ship ran against a great Piece of Ice that was aground. This Rush broke the main Knee of her Beak Head, and a Corner of it; tore away four of our main Shrouds, and an Anchor that we had at the Bow, fasten'd into it; and so stopt her Way, that she did wind up to her Anchor. We saw the sharp Rocks under us, and about us; and had but 15 Foot Water; being also in the Sides Way, where the Ice would drive upon us; our Boat we could not see; which made us doubt she had been crushed to Pieces. In her, was the third Part of our Company; but by and by we see her come about a Point among the Rocks. She had recover'd our Kedger, which made us something joyful: With all Speed we laid out Hawfers to the Rocks, and every one did work to the best of his Strength, to warp her out of this dangerous Place, to the Rocks Sides; where we had 3 Fath. Water, and where under the Shelter of

a great Piece of Ice that was aground, which kept off the Ice, that otherwise would have driven upon us. Here we lay very well at the Ebb; but when the Flood came, we were assaulted with Pieces of Ice, that every half Hour put us into desperate Distress. We did work continually and extremely to keep off the Ice. At full Sea, our great Piece of Ice, which was our Buckler, was afloat; and do what we could, got away from us, and left us in imminent Danger, by Reason of the Ice that drove in upon us. But the Ebb being once made, this great Piece of Ice came again aground very favourable to us; and shelter'd us all the rest of the Ebb. All Night we wrought hard, to shift our Cables and Hawfers, and to make them fast aloft on the Rocks, that the Ice might the better pass under them. All Day and Night it snow'd hard, and blew a very Storm at West; which drove in all the Ice out of the Sea upon us. In working against the Violence of the Ice, the Flock of our Kedger was broken; two Arms of our Grapnels, and two Hawfers, our Shallop being again very much bruised; whereupon to work we go on all Hands to repair it.

This Tide, the Harbour was choak'd full of Ice; so that it seem'd firm and immoveable; but when the Ebb was made, it mov'd. Some great Pieces came aground, which alter'd the Course of the other Ice, and put us on the Rocks. Here, notwithstanding our utmost Endeavours, she settled upon a sharp Rock, about a Yard above the Main Mast; and as the Water ebb'd away, she hung after the Head, and held to the Offing. We made Cables and Hawfers aloft to her Masts, and so to the Rocks, straining them tough with our Tackles; but she as
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the Water ebb'd away, she was turn'd over, that we could not stand in her. Having now done all to the best of our Understandings, but to little Purpose, we went all upon a Piece of Ice and fell to Prayer; *beseeking God to be merciful unto us.* It wanted yet an Hour to Low Water, and the Tide wanted a Foot and half to ebb, to what it had ebb'd the last Tide. We were careful Observers of the Low Waters, and had Marks by Stones and other Things which we had set up, so that we could not be deceiv'd. The Ship was so turn'd over, that the Portless of the Fore Castle was in the Water, and we look'd every Minute when she would overset. Indeed at one Time, the Cables gave Way, and she sunk down half a Foot at that Slip; but unexpectedly it began to flow, and sensibly we perceiv'd the Water to rise apace, and the Ship withal. Then was our Sorrow turned to Joy, and we all fell on our Knees, *praising God for his Mercy*, in so miraculous a Deliverance.

As soon as she was freed from this Rock, we wrought hard to get her further off. All the Flood we were pretty quiet from the Ice, but when the Ebb was made, the Ice came all driving again upon us, which put us to great Extremity. We got as many Pieces between us and the Rocks as we could, to fence us from the Rocks. There came a great Piece upon our Quarter, which was above 300 of my Paces about, but it came aground. Thus did divers great Pieces besides, which was the Occasion, that this Tide the Harbour was quite choak'd up; so that a Man might go any Way over it, from Side to Side. When it was three Quarters Ebb, these great Pieces that came aground, began to break with a most terrible thundering Noise,

TO A VOYAGE to

Noise, which put us in great Fear, that those about us would break us all to Pieces; *but God preserved us.*

This Morning the Water veer'd to a lower Ebb then the last Tide it had done, by 2 Foot; *whereby we saw God's Mercies apparent to us in our late Extremity.* That Flood, we had some Respite from our Labours; but after full Sea, our Hopes ebb'd too. The great Piece that was by us, so stopp'd the Channel, that the Ice came all driving upon us; so that now, undoubtedly, we thought we should have lost our Ship. To work thereupon we go, with Axes, Bars of Iron, and any Thing proper for such a Purpose, to break the Corners of the Ice, and to make Way for it to go from us. *It pleased God to give good Success* to our Labours, and we made Way for some, and fended off the rest, and got so much of the softer Sort of the Ice betwixt us and the Rocks that we were pretty secure. But at Low Water those Pieces that were aground, breaking, kept a most thundering Noise about us. This Day I went ashore, and built a great Beacon with Stones upon the highest Place of the Island, and put a Cross upon it, and nam'd the Harbour, *The Harbour of God's Providence.* In the Evening, the Harbour was fuller of Ice than ever it been since we came thither; and the greater Pieces grounded, and stopp'd the rest, that none went out the Ebb, but the Ship lay, as if she had lain in a Bed of Ice.

The 23d in the Morning, with the Flood, the Ice drove up among the broken Grounds; and with the Ebb drove all out (it being very calm) except one extraordinary great Piece, which coming aground not far from us, settled itself in such a Manner that we much fear'd it.

But

the SOUTH SEA.

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But there came no more great Ice after it: otherwise, we must have expected as great Danger, as at any Time heretofore. I took the Boat, and went ashore upon the Eastern Side, to see if I could find any Place freer from Danger than this unfortunate Place, where among the Rocks I descried a likely Place. From the Top of the Hill where I was, I could see the Ship. It was now almost Low Water, at which Instant the foremention'd Piece of Ice brake with a terrible Noise into four Pieces, which made me afraid it had spoil'd the Ship; it being full half Mast high. I made what Haste I could to the Boat, and so to the Ship, to be satisfied, where I found all well, *God be thank'd*, for the Ice had broken from the Ship-ward. I instantly sent away the Boat to sound the Way to a Cove that I had found, which was a very dangerous Passage for the Boat. At her Return, we unmoor'd the Ship, and with what Speed possible warpt away from among this terrible Ice. We were not a Mile from them before they brake all to Pieces, and would surely have made us bear them Company, *but that God was more merciful to us*. We got about the Rocks, and so into this little Cove, which I had so newly discover'd. Here we made fast to the Rocks, and thought ourselves in indifferent Safety; which being done, I went ashore again, to wander up and down, to see what I could discover. I found it all broken rocky Ground, and not so much as a Tree, Herb, or Grass upon it: Some Ponds of Water there were in it, which were not yet thaw'd, and therefore not ready for the Fowl: We did not find in the Snow any footing of Deer, or Bears, but Foxes we saw one or two.

We

We found where the Savages had been, but it was long since. They had made five Hearths, and we found a few Firebrands about them, and some Heads of Foxes, and Bones of Foxes, with some Whale-bones. I could not conceive, to what Purpose they should come thither; for we could find none or very little Wood on the Shore Side, and no Fish at all; tho' we daily endeavour'd to take some: But it may be, the Season was not yet come. I nam'd this Cove by the Master's Name of my Ship, *Price's Cove*. The Latitude of it is 61. 24. the Variation. The Firebands and Chips which I spake of, had been cut with some Hatchet, or other good Instrument of Iron; From the Top of the Hills, we could see the Islands that are on the South Shore, commonly called, *Sir Thomas Button's Isles*: They did bear S. and by E. half a Point Easterly: Some 14 or 15 Leagues distant upon the Change-Day, it flows here Seven o'Clock and a half, and the Tide highest at most 3 Fathoms. The Flood comes from the Eastwards, and thither it returns. I have been observant from the Top of the Hills, whence I might descry the great Pieces of Ice, 2 or 3 Leagues from the Shore, drive to and again with the Flood and Ebb indifferently. Hence I collected that assuredly there is no Current sets in here, but that it is a mere Tide. Near the Shore, the Ed-dies whirl in twenty Manners, when the Ebb is made; which is, because it comes out of the broken Ground amongst the Ice that is aground near the Shore: Besides which Reason, there be divers Rocks lying under Water; on which you shall have now 30, then 12, and anon but 8, and then 20 Fathoms: And these Uncertainties, occasion such Distractions. I would there-fore

fore advise no one to come too near those dangerous Shores, for Fear he lose his Ship, and so by Consequence all: The last Night, we took better Rest than we had done in ten Nights before.

And this Morning being the 24th, there sprung up a fair Gale of Wind at East; and after Prayer we unfasten'd our Ship, and came to Sail, steering betwixt great Pieces of Ice, that were aground in 40 Fathoms, and twice as high as our Top-mast Head.

We went forth of this Cove, upon the Flood, and had none of those Whirlings of the Waters, as we had at our going into it. We endeavour'd to gain the North Shore; kept ourselves within a League of the Shore of the *Island of Resolution*, where we had some clear Water to sail through. In the Offing, it was all thick throng'd together, as might be possible. By 12 o'Clock, we were fast inclosed, and notwithstanding it blew very hard at E. yet we could make no Way through it: But the hard Corners of the Ice grated us with that Violence, that I verily thought it would have grated the Planks from the Ship's Sides. Thus we continued in Torment, till the 26th Day, driving to and again in the Ice; not being able to see an Acre of Sea from Top-mast Head. This 26th was calm Sun-shine Weather, and we took the Latitude and Variation. The Latitude is 140 Fath. small white Sand. I caused the Men to lay out some fishing Lines, but to no Purpose; for I could not perceive the Bait had been so much as touch'd. The Nights are very cold; so that our Rigging freezes; and fresh Ponds of Water

Water stand upon the Ice, above half an Inch thick.

The 27th there sprung up a little Gale at S. E. and the Ice did something open. Hereupon we let fall our Fore-Sail, and forc'd the Ship through the Throng of Ice. In the Evening, the Wind came contrary, at W. N. W. and blew hard, which caus'd us to fasten to a great Piece, to which we remain'd moor'd till the 29th.

I am satisfy'd here is no Current, by many Experiments I have made. Namely, by making Marks on the Land; and noting our Drift to and again, with the Ebb and Flood, for many Days together; as well in calm Weather, as otherwise. By all these Experiments I found exactly, that the Tide was no stronger there, than that betwixt *England* and *France*.

This Morning, there sprung up a fine Gale at E. and the Ice open'd something, so that we forc'd the Ship through it with her Fore-Sail. By 12 o'Clock, we were got into some open Water, with a fine Gale of Wind at East, and so clear Weather, that we could see the *Island of Resolution*. The N. End did bear off us E. N. E. some 12 Leagues off.

From this 29th, till the 5th of *July*, we sail'd continually through the Ice, with variable Winds and Fogs, and sometimes calm. The 5th at Noon, we had a good Observation, and were in Lat. 63 : 15, and then we saw *Salisbury Island*, bearing W. by N. some 7 Leag. off, with much Ice betwixt it and us; to weather which we were driven to stand to the Northward. Soon after, we saw, *Prince Charles's Cape*, and *Mill Island*: And to N. N. W. (and indeed, round about us) the Sea most infinitely pester'd

pester'd with Ice. This griev'd me very much, for as I had determin'd to prosecute the Discovery to the N. Westward, I saw it was not possible this Year. We were moreover driven back again with contrary Winds, still closed and pestered with Ice; and with all the Perils and Dangers, incident to such Adventures; so that we thought a Thousand Times, that the Ship had been beaten to Pieces.

By the 15th Day of July, we were got betwixt Digge's Island, and Nottingham's Island; not being able to get more Northward. There for an Hour or two, we had some open Water.

But before I proceed further, it were not amiss in some Manner to describe the Streight, which begins at the *Island of Resolution*, and ends here at *Digge's Island*. If you go down into the Bay, the Streight is about 120 Leag. long, and trends W. N. W. and E. S. E. generally. In the Entrance, it is about 15 Leag. broad; and then on the Southward Side, is a great Bay. About the middest, it is likewise about 15 Leag. broad, and then the Land opens something wider; so that betwixt *Digge's Island*, and *Cape Charles*, it is about 20 Leag. broad. Betwixt which two stands *Salisbury Island*, and *Nottingham Island*. If it be clear Weather, you may see both the S. and the N. Shores: Ordinarily, the Depth in the Middle of the Streight, is 120 Fathoms, white Sand. A certain Tide runs in it, and no Current. The North Shore is the straitest and the clearest from Ice. Along the North Shore, you have many low small Islands; which cannot be seen far off from the Land, and in many Places, the Land makes as if it had small Sounds into it. The main

main Land on both Sides, is indifferent high Land. And so much for Discourse may suffice.

Being now convinc'd of the Impossibility of doing any Thing to the N. Westward, for the Reasons aforesaid: I gave Order to the Master of my Ship to steer away, W. S. W. to have a Sight of *Mansfield* Island, which the next Day by three o'Clock in the Afternoon, we had: having had so much dangerous foul Weather among the Ice, we struck more fearful Blows against it, than we had ever yet done. This was the first Day that we went to half Allowance of Bread on Flesh Days: and I order'd Things as sparingly as I could. Two of our Men complain likewise of Sickness, but soon afterward recover'd. In the Evening we came to an Anchor, and sent the Boat ashore to try the Tides. They brought me Word, that whilst the Boat was ashore, it flow'd about some 3 Foot, as we found by the Ship, and by the Ice; the Water at that Time came from the W. S. W. and that the highest Tides, so far as they could perceive, had not swell'd above 2 Fath. They found that the Savages had been upon it, by certain Fires which they found, and Heaps of Stones, Tracks of other Beasts, but Foxes they could not find. The Wind was so contrary, and the Weather so foggy, that we were fain to spend some Powder to recover our Boat again.

Next Morning being the 17th, the Wind came something favourable, and we weigh'd. The Shore being something clear of Ice, tho' very thick all to the Offing, we stood along it S. and S. by W. some 10 Leag. In the Afternoon, the Wind came contrary, and we came again to an Anchor, within a Mile of the Shore,
for

for to Sea-board was all thick Ice, and impassable. I went ashore myself, to be resolv'd of the Tide, and found whilst I was ashore, that it flow'd two Foot : And at that Time the Flood came from the S. W. by W. I doubted it was a half Tide, which afterwards I found to be true. I found where the Savages had been upon the Island ; but could find little or no Drift Wood on the Shore ; no Beasts on the Island, nor Fish in the Sea. It flows on the Change Day, about 11 o'Clock. We saw some Fowl on it ; whereof we kill'd one, and return'd aboard. This Island is very low Land ; little higher than a dry Sand-bank. It hath Ponds upon it of fresh Water, but no Grass ; and is utterly barren of all Goodness.

The 18th in the Morning, the Wind came something favourable ; we weigh'd and came to Sail ; for the Ice was all come about us. We endeavour'd to proceed to the Westward ; intending to fall with the Western Land, about the Latitude 63. 00. By 12 o'Clock, having been much pester'd, we were come to a firm Range of Ice ; *but it pleas'd God that the Wind* *larged*, and we stood away S. S. W. At Noon in Lat. 62. 00. by 4 in the Evening, having escap'd dangerous Blows, we were come, as we thought, into an open Sea, and joyfully steer'd away W. and W. by N. altho' that Joy was soon quell'd. For by 10 o'Clock at Night, we heard the Rut of the Ice ; and it grew a thick Fog, and very dark with it ; nevertheless we proceeded, and the nearer we came to it, the more hideous Noise it made.

By three in the Morning, the 19th, we were come to it, and as it clear'd a little, we could see the Ice ; which were as thick Rands of Ice,

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as any we had yet seen. These being impassable, and moreover the Wind at N. W. we stood along it, hoping to weather it to the Southward, but at last, we became so blinded with Fog, and so encompass'd with Ice, that we could go no further.

The 20th in the Morning, notwithstanding the Fog, we endeavour'd to get to the Westward; our Ship beating and knocking all this while most fearfully.

In this Wilfulness we continu'd till the 21st, when being fast among the Ice, I observ'd we were in Lat. 60. 33. and then looking what Damage our Ship might have receiv'd, we could perceive that below the Plate of Iron, which was before her Cut-water, she was all bruise'd and broken; the two Knees she had before, to strengthen her, spoil'd and torn; and many other Defects, which we could not by any Means come to mend. Notwithstanding all this, and the extraordinary thick Fog, that we could not see a Pistol shot about us, we proceeded with the Hazard of all.

Till the 27th, which was the first Time we had clear Weather to look about us: The Wind withal came up at South, and the Ice did open something; so that we made some Way thro' it to the Westward. In the Evening we were fast again, and could go no farther; the Wind veering from the South to the East, and blowing a fresh Gale. This occasion'd our Grief the more, that with a good Wind we could not go forward; putting therefore a Hawser upon a Piece of great Ice, to keep the Ship close to it, we patiently expected for better Fortune. Since we came from *Mansfield's* Island, our Depth was commonly 110 and 100 Fath. oozy Ground.

Passage to the South Sea. 19

Ground. Now the Water begins to shallow ; for this present 27th driving fast to and again in the Ice, we have but 80 Fath. Ground as before.

The 28th and 29th, we were so fast inclos'd in the Ice, that notwithstanding we put aboard all the Sail that was at Yards ; and it blew a very hard Gale of Wind ; the Ship stirr'd no more than if she had been in a dry Dock. Hereupon we went all boldly out upon the Ice, to sport and recreate ourselves, letting her stand still, under all her Sails. It was flat extraordinary large Ice ; the worst to deal withal that we had yet found. I measur'd some Pieces, which I found to be 1000 of my Paces long. This was the first Day that our Men began to murmur, thinking it impossible to get either forwards or backwards. Some were of Opinion, that it was all such Ice, betwixt us and the Shore. Others, that the Bay was all cover'd over ; and that it was a Doubt whether we could get any Way, or to any Land, to winter in. The Nights were long, and every Night it freez'd so hard, that we could not sail among the Ice by Night, nor in the thick foggy Weather. I comforted and encourag'd them, the best I could : and to put away those Thoughts, we drank a Health to his Majesty on the Ice ; not one Man in the Ship, and she still under all her Sails. I must confess, that all their Murmuring was not without Reason ; wherefore doubting that we should be frozen up in the Sea, I order'd that Fire should be made but once a Day, and that with but a certain Number of Shides, that the Steward should deliver to the Cook by Tale, the better to prolong our Fewel whatsoever should happen.

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The 30th we made some Way thro' the Ice; we heaving the Ship with our Shoulders, and with Mawls and Crows of Iron, breaking the Corners of the Ice, to make Way. As we got forwards, the Water shoal'd apace; so that I believ'd it to be some Island. At Noon, we observ'd thro' the Fog, with the Quadrant, upon a Piece of Ice, and were in Lat. 58. 54, our Depth 30 Fath. We put out Hooks, to try to catch some Fish, but to no Purpose; for there is not any in this Bay.

The 31st, we labour'd as aforesaid, and got something forward. At Noon we were in Lat. 58. 40, our Depth 23 Fath. It was very thick hazy Weather, or else I think we should have seen the Land.

The 1st of *August*, the Wind came up at W. which drove us to the Eastward, where our Depth increas'd to 35 Fath. At Noon, by Observation with the Quadrant on the Ice, we were in Lat. 58. 45. At 6 o'Clock this Evening, we might perceive the Ice to heave and set a little, which was occasion'd by a swelling Sea, that came from S. W. This did comfort us very much, hoping shortly we should get out of the Ice.

The 2d, it blew hard at S. W. and yet we could not feel the foremention'd swelling Sea; which did again quench the Hopes we had formerly conceiv'd.

The 3d, we saw a little open Water to the North-Westward, and felt a Sea from the West, which doth assure us, that there is an open Sea to the Westward.

The 5th, we saw the Sea clear, but could by no Means work ourselves to it with our Sails; wherefore about 6 in the Evening, we let fall an
Anchor

Anchor in 50 Fath. Water, and stood all with Poles and Oars to fend off the Ice, and let it pass to Leeward. We continu'd this Labour all Night.

In the Morning, the Wind came up at N. W. and we weigh'd with much Joy, as hoping now to get into an open Sea to the Southward. This by Noon we had done, and were in Lat. 58. 28. very free of Ice. The Wind did large upon us, so that we stood away N. W. to get up as high to the Northward as we could, and so to come coasting to the Southward. *We went to Prayer, and to give God Thanks for our Delivery out of the Ice.*

The 9th, being in Lat. 59. 40, we came again to the Ice, which lay very thick to the N. Since we came out of the Ice, our Depth increased to 110, and now decreas'd again: So that I think we approach'd towards the Shore.

The 10th prov'd very thick foggy Weather, the Wind contrary, and the Water shallowing apace, we came to an Anchor in 22 Fath.

The 11th in the Morning, we weighed, and made in for the Shore, and about Noon saw the Land, our Depth being 16 Fath. in Lat. 59. 40. The Land to the N. of us did trend N. by E. and so made a Point to the Southward, and trended away W. by S. which we follow'd, taking it for that Place, which was formerly call'd *Hubbert's Hope*. And so it prov'd indeed, but it is now hopeless.

Two or three Words now, concerning the Bay that we have past over. It is from *Digge's* Island, to this Western Land, in Latitude aforesaid, about 160 Leag. the Course W. S. W. the Variation

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The Tides set in the Middle of the Bay E. and W. as we have often tried by our Lead aground, but nearer the Shore, as they are forc'd by the Land. I am of Opinion, that in the Ocean, or in large Bays, the Tides naturally set E. and W. and that this gives little Hope of a Passage. The greatest Depth we had in the Bay, was 110 Fathoms, and so shoaling, as you approach to Land, we coasted round this foremention'd little Bay; which is some 18 Leag. deep in 8 and 6 Fath. and in the Bottom of it, we were two Fath. and a half Water, and saw the firm Land almost round about us. Then we proceeded to the Southward 6 and 7 Fath. Water, within Sight of the Breach of the Shore, keeping the Lead continually going, and in the Night we would come to an Anchor. This Night having little Wind, we came to an Anchor with our Kedger; but in weighing of him, we lost him, having no more aboard us.

The 12th, we were in Lat. 58. 46. some two Leag. from the Shore. The Variation is about 17 Deg.

The 13th in the Afternoon, it being something hazy, we saw some Breaches ahead us: our Depth was 9 and 10 Fath. and loosing to clear ourselves of them, we suddenly struck upon the Rocks, the Ship then being under our 2 Top-sails, Fore-sail and Sprit-sail, with a fresh Gale of Wind. In this fearful Accident, we struck all our Sails amain; *and it pleas'd God to send two or three good swelling Seas*, which heav'd us over the Rocks into 3 Fath. and presently into 3 Fath. and an half, where we chop'd to an Anchor, and tried the Pumps; but we found she made no Water, altho' she had three such terrible Blows, that we thought her Mast would have shiver'd

shiver'd to Pieces, and that she had been assuredly bulg'd. We hoist'd the Boat over-board, and double mann'd her, to go seek and sound a Way, out of this perilous Place. She was no sooner gone, but there arose a Fog; so that we were oblig'd to spend some Powder, that she might hear whereabouts we were. The Wind dull'd something; otherwise, it had been doubtful whether she could ever have recover'd us again. After she had been absent 2 or 3 Hours she brought us Word, that it was all Rocks and Breaches round about us; and that withal she had found a Way, where there was not less than 2 Fath. and a half; and that afterwards the Water deepen'd. We presently weigh'd and follow'd the Boat and pass'd over two Ledges of Rocks, on which there was 14 Foot Water. Then it deepen'd to 3, 4, and so to 14 Fath. then it shoal'd again to 9. It being now Night, we came to an Anchor; where we rid indifferent well all the Night. In the Morning, the Wind came contrary; so that we could not go that Way we intended to clear ourselves: And therefore we went to work; to fit our Holds, to splice our Cables; and made ready 2 Shot, and so plac'd them in the Hold, that they might upon all Occasions run clear; the Ends of them being fasten'd to the Main Mast. We likewise look'd to our Anchors, and fitted our spare Ones. We got out our long Boat from betwixt the Decks, which was very broken and bruise'd. The Carpenter went to work to fit her; for I intended to tow the Shallop at Stern, and so to have the Boats ready at an Instant, either to lay out Anchors, or to be serviceable to what God should be pleas'd to try our Faith and Patience with; for in him was our only Trust and Hope. At Noon, in Lat. 57. 45. w. we could see the

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the Land from the N. W. to the S. E. by E. with Rocks and Breaches; and the Rocks that we came over dry above Water; whereby I knew it flows here 2 Fath. at least. At Noon, I sent the Boat off to sound to the Eastward; because the Water shallow'd when we came to an Anchor. She brought us Word, the shallowest Water she had been in, was 7 Fath. We intending thereupon to weigh, the Wind came Easterly; so that we could not budge, but lay here the 14th all Night, with a stiff Gale of Wind.

The 15th in the Evening, our Cable rubb'd off; by Reason of which perilous and sudden Accident, in which we had not Time to put a Buoy to it, we lost our Anchor, and were driven into 4 Fath. Water, before we could set our Sails. When we had done, we stood S. S. E. the Wind being at E. but the Water shallow'd to 3 Fath. Then we stood N. N. E. and it deepen'd by Degrees to 10 Fath. and because it grew dark, we came to an Anchor, and rid a good Strefs all Night.

The 16th in the Morning, the Wind came up at N. a fresh Gale; and we weigh'd and came to Sail. By 9 o'Clock it grew to be a very Storm, and we turn'd to and again, in 10 Fath. Water. In the Evening, the Wind dull'd, and we stood S. W. to have a Sight of Port Nelson; which Course we stood all Night, by the Stars, being in Lat. 57. 25, the Variation about 17 Degrees.

The 17th in the Morning we stood S. and our Depth decreas'd by Degrees to 8 Fath. At Noon we had good Observation, being in Latitude 57. 15. and we make Account that we are some 6 or 7 Leag. of the Southern Side of Port Nelson. Here the Colour of the Water changed,

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ed, and was of a sandy red Colour. We stood in to 6 Fath. and could not see the Land from Top-mast-Head; so Night coming on, and it beginning to blow hard at E. by S. we stood off again into 10 and 12 Fath. where the Water was again of the Colour of the Sea.

The 18th, as the Wind and Weather favour'd us, and the Storm was broken up, we stood in again S. and came again into thick puddleish Water; into 8, 7, and 6 Fath. and then off again; for it grew thick foggy Weather, keeping our Lead continually going, Night and Day.

The 19th, being fine clear Sun-shine Weather; we stood in again into the thick puddleish Water, into 8 Fath. where we came to an Anchor, to try the Tides; for from Top-Mast Head we could not see the Land. We were at Noon, by good Observation, in Lat. 57. 20. and the Tide set N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. It ran two Knots and an half in two Glasses; I perceiv'd, that there were nothing but Shoals to the Land. In the Afternoon it began to snuffle and blow; so that we had much ado to get up our Anchor. This being done, we stood E. S. E. but the Water shallow'd apace. Then we stood E. and deepen'd a little: In the Evening, the Wind came up at West; and then we stood E. S. E. into 10 and 8, and afterwards S. E. as our Depth did guide us by our Lead, and the Colour of the Water into 7 and 6 Fath.

The 20th at 6 in the Mornng, we saw the Land; it being a very low flat Land. We stood into 5 Fath. to make it the better, and so stood along it. At Noon we were in Lat. 57. 00. We nam'd it, *The Principality of South Wales*; and drank a Health in the best Liquor we had to His Highness, Prince *Charles*, whom God preserve,

preserve. We stood along it, and came to a Point where it trends to the Southward, near to which Point there are two small Islands. In the Evening it was calm, and we came to an Anchor: The Tide sate as aforesaid. There we rid all that Night, and the next Day; by Reason the Wind was contrary. There went a chopping short Sea, and the Ship labour'd at it, exceedingly leaping in Sprit-Sail Yard, Fore-Castle, and all; for as yet we had not trimm'd her well, to ride. About 9 at Night, it was very dark, and it blew hard. We perceiv'd by the Lead the Ship drove, wherefore bringing the Cable to Capstang, to heave in our Cable, for we thought we had lost our Anchor, the Anchor hitch'd again, and upon the Chopping of a Sea, threw the Men from the Capstang. A small Rope in the Dark had gotten foul about the Cable, and about the Master's Leg too: *But with the Help of God he clear'd himself, tho' not without sore bruising.* The two Mates were hurt, the one in the Head, the other in the Arm. One of our lustiest Men was struck on the Breast with a Bar, that he lay sprawling for Life; another had his Head betwixt the Cable, and hardly escap'd. The Rest were flung where they were sore bruised; but our Gunner, an honest and diligent Man, had his Leg taken betwixt the Cable and the Capstang, which wrung off his Foot and tore all the Flesh off his Leg, and crush'd the Bone to Pieces, and sorely bruised his whole Body; In which miserable Manner he remain'd crying till we had recover'd ourselves, our Memory and Strengths to clear him. Whilst we were putting him and the rest down to the Chirurgeon; the Ship drove into shallow Water, which put us all in Fear, we being so sorely weaken'd

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weaken'd by this Blow, which had hurt eight of our Men. *It pleas'd God*, that the Anchor held again, and she rid it out all Night. By Midnight, the Chirurgion had taken off the Gunner's Leg at the Gartering Place, and dress'd the others that were hurt and bruise'd; after which we comforted each other as well as we could.

The 22d, we weigh'd, and stood a little off into deeper Water; expecting a better Wind, Which in the Afternoon favour'd us. We stood in again for the Shore, and along it we proceeded: It is very shallow about 4 Leag. off, and full of Breaches.

The 23th at Noon, we were in Lat. 56. 28. In the Evening, the Wind came contrary; and we were fain to turn to and again. All this Month, the Wind was very variable, and continued not long upon one Point; yet it happened so, that we could get but little forward.

The 26th, there sprung up a fine Gale at W. but thick Weather; nevertheless we stood into 7 and 6 Fath. the Water very thick. At Noon, it clear'd; and we could see that we were in a little Bay: The Land being almost round about us. We stood out of it, and so along it, in Sight; till the 27th in the Morning, when we came to higher Land than any we had yet seen, since we came from *Nottingham* Island. We stood into it, and came to an Anchor in 5 Fathoms. I sent off the Boat, well mann'd and arm'd; with Order in Writing what they were to do: and a Charge to return again, before Sun-set: The Evening came, and no News of our Boat: We shot and made false Fires, but had no Answer; which did much perplex us, fearing there had some Disaster befallen her, thro'

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Carelessness, and in her we should lose all. We aboard, at present, were not able to weigh our Anchor, nor sail the Ship. At last we saw a Fire upon the Shore, which made us the more doubtful, because they did not answer our Shot, nor false Fires with the like. We thought withal, that it had been the Savages, that did triumph in their Conquest. At length they came, all safe and well, and excus'd themselves, that upon their coming ashore, it ebb'd so suddenly, that a Bank of Sand was presently dry without them, as they could not come away, till that was cover'd again; and with that they pacified me: They reported, that there was great Store of Drift Wood, on the Shore; and a good Quantity growing on the Land. That they saw the Tracks of Deer and Bears; good Store of Fowl; of which they had kill'd some; but no Sign of People. That they pass'd over two little Rivers, and came to a third; which they could not pass: That it flow'd very near 3 Fath. sometimes, as appear'd by the Shore. That it was Low Water at 4 o'Clock; that the Flood came from the N. W. and that it flow'd half Tide; which both they and we had perceiv'd by the Ship. At Low Water, we had but 3 Fath. where we rid. The Wind began to blow hard at E. whereupon we weigh'd and stood to the Northward till Midnight: Then in again, and in the Morning we saw the Land; and then it began to blow hard, and as we stood off, it increas'd to a very Storm; so that at length we could not maintain a Pair of Courses; but tried under our main Course, all Day and Night: sometimes turning her Head, to the Landward, sometimes to the Offing.

The 29th in the Morning, we made Account we had driven back again, some 16 or 18 Leag. and in the Morning, as it clear'd, we saw a Ship to Leeward of us 3 or 4 Leag. so we made Sail, and bore up with her. She was then at Anchor in 13 Fath. It was his Majesty's Ship, commanded by Captain *Fox*.

I saluted him according to the Manner of the Sea, and receiv'd the like of him. So I stood in to see the Land, and thought to tack about, and keep Weather of him, and to send my Boat aboard of him; but the Wind shifted, so that for that Time I could not. In the Evening, I came to Weather of him, who presently weigh-ed, and stood off with me till Midnight; and then we stood in again.

In the Morning, Capt. *Fox* and his Friends came aboard of me, where I entertain'd them in the best Manner I could, and with such fresh Meat as I had gotten from the Shore. I told him, that I had nam'd the Land, *The Principality of South Wales*. I shew'd him how far I had been to the Eastward, where I had landed, and in brief, I made known to him all the Dangers of this Coast, as far as I had been. He told me, he had been in Port *Nelson*, and had made but a cursory Discovery hitherto; and that he had not landed, nor had not many Times seen the Land. In the Evening, after I had given his Men some Necessaries, with Tobacco and other Things which they wanted, he departed aboard his Ship; and the next Morning stood away S. S. W. since which Time, I never saw him. The Wind something favouring me, I stood in for the Shore; and so proceeded along it in Sight.

This

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This Month of *August* ended with Snow and Hail; the Weather being as cold, as at any Time I have felt in *England*.

Sept. 1. We coasted along the Shore in 10 Fath. when it clear'd, in Sight of Land. At length the Water shallow'd to 6 and 5 Fath. and as it clear'd, we saw it all Breaches to Leeward; so we hull'd off, N. N. E. but still rais'd Land. By Night, we had much ado to get out of this dangerous Bay. At Midnight, the Wind came up at S. and so we took in our Sails, and let the Ship drive to the Northward into deeper Water. This Day was the first Time the Chirurgeon told me, that there were divers of the Men tainted with Sickness. At Noon, we were in Lat. 55. 12.

The 2d, we stood in again for the Shore, but as we came in to shallow Water, it began to blow; the Weather being winterly and foul, threatening a Storm; wherein we were not deceiv'd, for in standing off, we had a violent one. By Midnight it broke up; and the 3d in the Morning, we stood in again; and by 11 we saw it. Here we found the Land to trend S. S. E. and S. so that we knew, that we were at a Cape Land; and nam'd it, *Cape Henrietta Maria*; by her Majesty's Name; who had before nam'd our Ship. At Noon, we were in Lat. 55. 05, and that is the Height of the Cape.

From *Port Nelson* to this Cape, the Land trends generally E. S. E. but makes with Points and Bays; which in the Particulars doth alter it a Point, 2 or 3. The Distance is about 130 Leag. the Variation at this Cape taken by Amplitude is about 16 Degrees. A most shallow and perilous Coast, in which there is not one Harbour to be found.

The

Passage to the South Sea. 31

The 3d Day in the Afternoon, we had a tearing Storm at N. which continu'd till Midnight, in extreme Violence.

The 4th in the Morning, the Storm being broke up, we stood in again, S. W. The Weather was very thick, and we found continually; but by Noon it clear'd, and we saw the Land. Here it did trend S. by E. and the Tides did set along it, with a quick Motion. In the Evening, there came a great rolling Sea out of the N. N. E. and at 8 o'Clock it blew very hard at S. E. and by Reason of the Encounter of the Wind and this great Sea, the Sea was all in a Breach; and to make up a perfect Tempest, it did so lighten, snow, rain, and blow, all the Night long, that I was never in the like: We shipp'd many Seas, but one most dangerous; which rack'd us Fore and Aft; that I verily thought it had sunk the Ship; it struck her with such Violence. The Ship did labour most terribly in this Distraction of Wind and Waves; and we had much ado to keep all Things fast in the Hold, and betwixt Decks.

The 5th in the Morning, the Wind shifted S. W. but chang'd not his Condition; but continued in his old Anger and Fury. In the Afternoon, it shifted again to the N. W. and there show'd his utmost Malice; and in that tearing Violence, that not I, nor any that were then with me, ever saw the Sea in such a Breach. Our Ship was so tormented, and did so labour; with taking it in on both Sides, and at both Ends, that we were in a most miserable Distress, in this so unknown a Place. At 8 o'Clock in the Evening, the Storm broke up, and we had some Quietness in the Night following; not one having slept one Wink in 30 Hours before. If
this

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this Storm had continu'd Easterly, as it was at first, *without God's Goodness we had all perish'd.*

The 6th, the Wind was at S. W. so that we could do no Good to the Westward. We spent the Time therefore, in trimming of our Ship; we brought all our Coals, which for the most Part was great Coal, aft; as we also did some other Things; and all to lighten her afore. Others pick'd our Bread; whereof there was much wet; for do what we could, we shipp'd Abundance of Water betwixt Decks, which ran into the Hold, and into our Bread-Room; for the Sea, indeed, so continually over-rack'd us, that we were like *Jonas* in the Whale's Belly: We overlook'd our Tacks and Shoots, with other Riggings of Stress; because that henceforward, we were to look for no other but Winter Weather. This Evening our Boatswain, a painful Man, and one that had labour'd extremely these 2 or 3 Days, was very sick; swooning away 3 or 4 Times; insomuch that we thought verily, he would presently have died.

The 7th in the Morning, the Wind came up at S. W. and we stood away S. W. under all the Sail we could make. In this Course, we saw an Island and came close aboard it; and had 20 Fath. Water, which was some Comfort to us; for hitherto, we could not come at 4 or 5 Leag. to the Shore, at that Depth. This Island stands in 54. 10. The Afternoon we stood away S. W. and in the Evening had the Shallowing of the Western Shore, in 10, 8, and 7 Fath. but it was so thick, that we could not see the Land. It is about 14 Leag. betwixt this Island and the Main.

The 8th was thick, foggy, and calm; which so continu'd till the 9th in the Morning. The Wind

Wind then coming up at S. S. W. though very foggy, we stood to the Eastward; keeping our Lead going continually. In the Evening, the Water shallow'd to 10 and 9 Fath. wherefore we stood off and on, all Night.

The 10th we made it, finding it an Island, of about 8 or 9 Leag. long. It stands in Latitude 53. 5. and about 15 Leag. from the Western Shore. The Part of it, that we coasted, trends W. N. W. I nam'd it my Lord *Weston's* Island: We stood still away to the Eastward; it being broken foggy Weather. In the Afternoon, we descried Land to the Eastward of us; which made like three Hills, or Hummocks: Towards them we sail, keeping our Lead still going; and very circumspect. At length we also saw Land to the Southward of us; whereupon we loof up, and now make for that; by Course as we had set it in the thick dark Fog. We came in among such low broken Grounds, Breaches, and Rocks, that we knew not which Way to turn us: *But God be thank'd* it was but little Wind, and so we came to an Anchor. Soon after it clear'd; at which Time we could see nothing but Sands, Rocks, and Breaches, round about us, that Way only excepted, which we came in. I sent presently the Boat to sound among the Shoals and Rocks, that if we should be put to Extremity, we might have some Knowledge which Way to go. This Night prov'd calm and fair Weather, and we rid quietly.

The 11th in the Morning, I went in the Boat ashore myself; and whilst I was on Land, I sent the Boat about among the broken Grounds, to sound. I found the Land utterly barren of all Goodness, yea of that which I thought easily to have found; which was Scurvy-grass, Sorrel, or

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some Herb or other, to have refresh'd our sick People. I could not perceive, that the Tide flow'd here, ordinarily, above two Foot. There was much Drift Wood on the Shore, and some of it drove up very high, on the N. Side of the Island; whereby I judg'd that the Storms were very great at N. in the Winter. Thus I return'd aboard; and sent many of our sick Men to another Part of the Island, to see if they themselves could fortunately find any Relief for their Grief. At Noon, by good Observation, we were in Latitude 52. 45. In the Evening, our Men return'd comfortless; and then we weigh'd and stood to the Westward, coming to an Anchor under another Island, in 20 Fath.

The 12th in the Morning, it began to blow hard at S. E. which was partly of the Shore; and the Ship began to drive; it being soft oozy Ground. We heav'd in our Anchor thereupon, and came to Sail under two Courses. Whilst the most were busy in heaving out of Top-sails: Some, that should have had special Care of the Ship, ran her ashore upon the Rocks, out of mere Carelessness, in looking out and about, or heaving of the Lead, after they had seen the Land all Night long, and might even then have seen it, if they had not been blind with Self-conceit, and been enviously opposite in Opinion. The first Blow, struck me out of a deep Sleep, and I running out of my Cabbin, thought no other at first, but I had been waken'd, when I saw our Danger, to provide myself for another World.

After I had controul'd a little Passion in myself, and had check'd some bad Counsel that was given me, to revenge myself upon those that had committed this Error: I order'd what should be done

done to get off these Rocks and Stones. First, we hal'd all our Sails aback; but that did no Good, but made her Beat the harder. Whereupon we struck all our Sails amain, and furl'd them up close, tearing down our Stern, to bring the Cable thro' the Cabbin to Capstang; and so laid out an Anchor to heave her astern. I made all the Water in Hold to be stay'd; and set some to the Pumps to pump it out, and intended to do the like with our Beer: Others I put to throw out all our Coals, which was soon and readily done. We coil'd out our Cables into our Long-Boat; all this While, the Ship beating so furiously that we saw some of the Sheathing swim by us. Then stood we, as many as could, to the Capstang; and heav'd with such a good Will, that the Cable broke, and we lost our Anchor. Out, with all Speed, therefore, we put another. We could not now perceivè whether she leak'd or no; and that by Reason we were employ'd in pumping out the Water, which we had bulg'd in Hold, tho' we much doubted, but she had receiv'd her Death's Wound: Therefore we put into the Boat the Carpenter's Tools, a Barrel of Bread, a Barrel of Powder, six Muskets, with some Match; and a Tinder-Box, Fish, Hooks and Lines, Pitch and Ockam: And to be brief, whatever could be thought on in such an Extremity. All this we sent ashore, to prolong a miserable Life for a few Days. We were five Hours thus beating, in which Time she struck 100 Blows; insomuch that we thought every Stroke had been the last that it was possible she could have endur'd. The Water, we could not perceive, in all this Time, to flow any Thing at all. At length, *it pleas'd God*, she beat over all the Rocks, tho' yet we knew not whether she was

stanch. Whereupon, to pumping we go on all Hands, till we made the Pumps suck; and then we saw how much Water she made in a Glass. We found her to be very leaky; but we went to Prayer, and *gave God Thanks it was no worse*; and so fitted all Things again, and got further off and came to an Anchor. In the Evening, it began to blow very hard at W. S. W. which if it had done whilst we were on the Rocks, we had lost our Ship without any Redemption. With much ado, we weigh'd our Anchor, and let her drive to the Eastward among the broken Ground and Rocks; the Boat going before, sounding. At length, we came among Breaches; and the Boat made Signs to us that there was no going further. Among the Rocks therefore we again came to an Anchor, where we rid all Night; and where our Men which were tir'd out with extreme Labour, were indifferent well refresh'd. Here I first noted, that when the Wind was at S. it flow'd very little or no Water at all; so that we could not bring our Ship a-ground to look to her: for we pump'd almost continually.

The 13th at Noon we weigh'd, and stood to the Westward: But in that Course, it was all broken Ground, Shoals, and sunken Rocks; so that we wonder'd, how we came in among them in a thick Fog. Then we shap'd our Course to the Northward: And after some Consultation with my Associates, I resolv'd to get about this Land, and so to go down into the Bottom of *Hudson's Bay*; and see if I could discover a Way into the River of *Canada*; and if I fail'd of that, then to winter on the main Land; where there is more Comfort to be expected, than among the Rocks, or Islands. We stood along
the

the Shore, in Sight of many Breaches. When it was Night, we stood under our Fore-Sail; the Lead still going. At last, the Water shallow'd upon us, to 10 Fath. and it began to blow hard. We tack'd about, and it deepen'd to 12 or 14 Fath. but by and by it shallow'd again to 8 Fath. Then we tack'd about again; and suddenly it shallow'd to 6 and 5 Fath. so we struck our Sail amain, and came to an Anchor; resolving to ride it for Life and Death. We rid all Night a great Stress; so that our Bitts did rise, and we thought they would have been torn to Pieces.

At Break of Day, the 14th, we were joyful Men; and when we could look about, we descried an Island some 2 Leag. off, at W. by N. and this was the Shoal that lay about it. Here ran a distracted, but yet a very quick Tide: Of which we taking the Opportunity, got up our Anchor, and stood N. W. to clear ourselves of this Shoal. In the Afternoon, the Wind came up at N. E. and we stood along the Eastern Shore, in Sight of a Multitude of Breaches. In the Evening, it began to blow a Storm, not Sail-worthy; and the Sea went very high, and was all in a Breach. Our Shallop, which we now tow'd at Stern, being moor'd with two Hawfers, was sunk; and did spin by her Moorings, with her Keel up, 20 Times in an Hour. This made our Ship to hull very broad; so that the Sea did continually over-rake us; yet we endur'd it, and thought to recover her. All Night, the Storm continu'd with Violence, and with some Rain in the Morning; it then being very thick Weather. The Water shoal'd apace, with such an overgrown Sea withall, that a Sail was not to be endur'd; and what was worse, there was no trust-

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ing to an Anchor. Now therefore we began to prepare ourselves, how to make a good End, of a miserable tormented Life. About Noon, as it clear'd up, we saw two Islands under our Lee; whereupon we bore up to them, and seeing an Opening betwixt them, we endeavour'd to get into it before Night; for that there was no Hope of us, if we continu'd out at Sea, that Night. Therefore come Life, come Death, we must run this Hazard. We found it to be a good Sound, where we rid all Night safely, and recover'd our Strengths again, which were much impair'd with continual Labour. But before we could get into this good Place, our Shallop broke away, being moor'd with 2 Hawfers, and we lost her to our great Grief: Thus now we had but the Ship-Boat, and she was all torn and bruis'd too. This Island was the same that we had formerly coasted the Western Side of; and had nam'd my Lord *Weston's* Island. Here we remain'd till the 19th, in which Time it did nothing but snow and blow extremely, insomuch that we durst not put our Boat overboard.

This 19th, the Wind shifted N. N. E. and we weigh'd and stood to the Southward, but by Noon the Wind came up at S. and so we came to an Anchor under another Island, on which I went ashore, and nam'd it, *The Earl of Bristol's Island*. The Carpenter wrought hard in repairing our Boat, whilst I wander'd up and down on this desert Island. I could not perceive, that ever there had been any Savages on it; and, in brief, we could find neither Fish, Fowl, nor Herb upon it; so that I return'd comfortless again. The Tides high about some 6 Foot; now the Wind is Northerly. The Flood comes from the N. and it flows half Tide; The full Sea, this

this Day, was at One o'Clock. Here, seeing the Winds continue so Northerly, that we could not get about to go into *Hudson's Bay*; we consider'd again what was best to do, to look out for a wintering Place. Some advis'd me to go for *Port Nelson*; because we were certain that there was a Cove, where we might bring in our Ship. I lik'd not that Counsel; for that is a most dangerous Place, and it might be so long e're we could get thither, that we might be debarr'd by the Ice. Moreover, seeing it was so cold here, that every Night our Rigging froze; and sometimes in the Morning, we shovel'd away the Snow half a Foot thick off our Decks; and in that Latitude too: I thought it far worse than the other Place. I resolv'd thereupon, to stand again to the Southward, there to look for some little Creek, or Cove, for our Ship.

The 21st, the Wind came up at N. and we weigh'd, altho' it was a very thick Fog, and stood away S. W. to clear ourselves of the Shoals that were on the Point of this Island. This Island is in Lat. 53. 10. When we were clear, we steer'd away S. At Noon the Fog turn'd into Rain; but very thick Weather, and it thunder'd all the Afternoon, which made us fear a Storm; yet we ventur'd to proceed. In the Evening, the Wind increas'd, and blew hard; therefore we took in all our Sails, and let her drive to the Southward, heaving the Lead every Glas. Our Depth, when we took in our Sails, was 30 Fath. and it increas'd to 45. which was a great Comfort to us in the Dark. At Midnight, our Depth began suddenly to decrease; and as fast as the Lead could be heav'd, it shoal'd to 20 Fath. wherefore we chopt to an Anchor, and trimm'd our Ship Aft, to mount to the Sea, and fitted all

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Things to ride it out. There was no Need to bid our Men watch; not one of them put his Eyes together all Night long. We rid it out well all the Night, altho' the Sea went very lofty; and it blew very hard.

The 22d in the Morning, when we could look about us, we saw an Island under our Lee some Leagues off; all being Shoals and Breaches betwixt us and it. At Noon, with the Help of the Windward Tide, we attempted to heave up our Anchor, altho' the Sea went very lofty. Joining all our Strengths therefore, with our best Skills, *God be thank'd*, we had it up; but before we could set our Sails, we were driven into 9 Fathoms. Indeavouring, thereupon, to double a Point, to get under the Lee of this Island; the Water shoal'd to 7, 6, and 5 Fath. but when we were about, it deepen'd again, and we came to an Anchor in a very good Place; and it was very good for us, that we did; for the Wind increas'd to a very Storm. Here we rid well all Night, took good Rest, and recover'd our spent Strengths again. The last Night, and this Morning, it snow'd and hail'd, and was very cold; nevertheless I took the Boat and went ashore to look for some Creek, or Cove, to have in our Ship; for she was very leaky, and the Company become sickly and weak, with much pumping, and extreme Labour. This Island, when we came to the Shore, was nothing but Ledges of Rocks and Banks of Sand; and there was a very great Surf on them. Nevertheless I made them row thro' it, and ashore I got with two more, and made them row off without the Breaches, and there to come to an Anchor and stay for me. I made what Speed I could to the Top of a Hill, to discover about; but could not see

see what we look'd for : And because it began to blow hard, I made haste towards the Boat again. I found that it had ebb'd so low, that the Boat could not by any Means come near the Shore for me ; so that we were forc'd to wade through the Surf and Breaches to her ; in which some took such a Cold, that they complain'd of it to their dying Day. But now it began to blow hard, so that we could not get but little to Windward toward our Ship ; for the Wind was shifted since we went ashore, and return to the Shore we could not, by Reason of the Surf. Well : we row for Life, they, in the Ship, let out a Buoy by a long Warp ; and by *God's Assistance* we got to it, and so hal'd up to the Ship, where we were well welcom'd, and we all rejoiced together. This was a Premonition to us, to be careful how we sent off the Boat ; for that it was Winter Weather already. I nam'd this Island, *Sir Thomas Roe's Island*. It is full of small Wood, but in other Benefits not very rich, and stands in Lat. 52. 10. At Noon, we weigh'd ; seeing an Island that bare S. S. E. of us, some 4 Leag. off, which was the highest Land we had yet seen in this Bay ; but as we came near it, it suddenly shoal'd to 6, 5. and 4 Fathoms. Wherefore we struck our Sails amain, and chopt to an Anchor ; but it was very foul Ground, and when the Ship was winded up, we had but three Fath. at her Stern. As it clear'd, we could see the Breaches all along under our Lee ; holding it safe therefore to stay long here ; we settled every Thing in Order, for the Ship to fall the right Way. We had up our Anchor, got into deeper Water, and stood over again for *Sir Thomas Roe's Island*, which by Night we brought in the Wind of us ; some 2 Leag. off, which did well shelter

us.

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us. The Tides run very quick here among these Shoals, and their Times of running Ebb, or Flood, be very uncertain: Their Currents are likewise so distracted, that in the Night there is no sailing by the Compass; therefore we were fain to seek every Night some new Place of Security to come to an Anchor.

The 24th, in the Morning, it lower'd, and threaten'd a Storm, which made us, with the Windward Tide, weigh to get nearer under the Island. It was very thick foggy Weather, and as we stood to the N. Eastward, we came to very uncertain Depths: At one Cast, 20 Fath. the next 7, then 10, 5, 8, and 3; and coming to the other Tack, we were worse than we were before, the Currents making a Fool of our best Judgments, in the thick Fog when we could see no Landmarks. *It pleas'd God*, that we got clear of them; and endeavour'd to get under the Lee of the Island. This being not able to do, we were oblig'd to come to an Anchor in 35 Fath. some 2 Leag. off the Shore: All this Afternoon, and indeed all Night too, it snow'd and hail'd, and was very cold.

The 25th, we weigh'd, and thought to get to the Eastward; but as we tack'd to and again, the Wind shifted so in our Teeth, that it put us within a Quarter of a Mile of the very Shore; where we chopt to an Anchor, and rid it out for Life and Death. Such Miseries as these, we endur'd among the Shoals and broken Grounds; or rather more desperate than I have related, (very unpleasant perchance to be read) with Snow, Hail, and stormy Weather, and colder than ever I felt in *England* in my Life. Our Sheet-Anchors was down twice or thrice in a Day, which extreme Pains made a great Part of our Compa-
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ny sickly. All this lasted with us, untill the 30th of this Month *September*, which we thought would have put an End to our Miseries; for now we were driven among Rocks, Shoals, Overfalls, and Breaches round about us; that which Way to turn, we knew not; but there rid among them, in Extremity of Distress. All these Perils, made a most hideous and terrible Noise, in the Night Season.

The 1st of *October* was indifferent fair Weather; and with a Windward Tide, out went our Boat, to sound a Channel to help us out of this dangerous Place. The Boat, within two Hours return'd, and told us, how she had been a Way where there were not less than 10 Fath. We presently, thereupon, weigh'd, but found it otherwise; and came among many strange Races, and Overfalls, upon which there went a very great and breaking Sea: As we proceeded, the Water shoal'd to 6 Fath. Well! there was no Remedy, we must go forward; seeing there neither was any Riding; and as little Hope to turn any Way with a Sail, but that there appear'd present Death in it. *It pleas'd God so to direct us*, that we got thro' it; having no less than five several, and all very ancient Depths. The Water, sometimes deepen'd to 20 Fath. then upon a Sudden, it shoal'd to 7, 6, and 5 Fath. so we struck all our Sails amain, and chopt to an Anchor, where we rid till Midnight, for Life and Death; it blowing a merciless Gale of Wind, and the Sea going very lofty, and all in a Breach. The Ground was foul Ground too, insomuch that we doubted our Cable every Minute.

The 2d, in the Morning, was little Wind; Wherefore taking the Opportunity of the Tide, the Boat went forth to sound; which returning
again

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again in two Hours, told us, how they had sounded about that Shoal, and had found a Place of some Safety to ride in; and had been in no less Water than 5 Fath. We weigh'd, and found our Cable gall'd in two Places; which had soon fail'd us, if the foul Weather had continu'd. We stood the same Way that the Boat directed us; but it prov'd so calm, that we came to an Anchor in 18 Fath. I took the Boat, and went ashore on an Island, that was to the Southward of us; which I nam'd, *The Earl of Danby's Island*. From the highest Place in it, I could see all broken Grounds and Shoals to the Southward; and rather worse, than any Thing better, than that which I had been in. I found that the Savages had been upon it, and that it was full of Wood. I made Haste to the Boat to sound the Bay, for Fear of Shoals and sunken Rocks; but found it indifferent Good. Toward the Evening, it began to blow hard; wherefore we made towards the Ship. She put forth a Buoy and a Warp; and we rowing for Life to recover her, were put to Leeward of her; but by getting hold of the Warp, we hal'd up to her. The Boat we left half full of Water; ourselves being as wet as drown'd Rats; and it made us the more rejoice, that we had escap'd this great Danger. All Night, we had a very hard Rode-steel, it blowing a most violent Gale of Wind, with Snow and Hail.

The 3d about Noon, the Wind dull'd; and we had up our Anchor, standing in further into the Bay into 4 Fath. and half Water. Here we came again to an Anchor, with our second Anchor; for many of our Men are now sick, and the rest so weaken'd, that we can hardly weigh our Sheet-Anchor; I took the Boat, and went presently

presently ashore to see what Comfort I could find. This was the first Time, that I put Foot on this Island; which was the same that we did after winter upon. I found the Tracks of Deer, and saw some Fowl; but that which rejoic'd me most, was, that I saw an Opening into the Land, as if it had been a River. To it we make with all Speed, but found it to be barr'd; and not 2 Foot Water, at full Sea, on the Bar; and yet within, a most excellent fine Harbour, having 5 Fath. Water. In the Evening, I return'd aboard, bringing little Comfort for our sick Men, more than Hopes.

The 4th, it did snow and blow very hard; yet I got ashore, and appointed the Boat to go to another Place, (which made like a River,) and to found it. In the mean Time, I went with four more, some 4, or 5 Miles up into the Country, but could find no Relief all that Way for our Sick, but a few Berries only. After we had well wearied ourselves in the troublesome Woods, I return'd to the Place I had appointed the Boat to tarry for me; where at my coming I still found her, she having not been where I had order'd her; for it had blown such a fierce Gale of Wind, that she could not row to Windward. Thus we return'd aboard, with no good News. It continu'd foul Weather, with Snow and Hail, and extreme Cold, till the 6th, when, with a favouring Wind, we stood in nearer to the Shore, and here moor'd the Ship.

The 7th, it snow'd all Day; so that we were fain to clear it off the Decks with Shovels; and it blew a very Storm withal. It continu'd snowing, and very cold Weather, and it froze so, that all the Bows of the Ship, with her Beak-Head,

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Head, was all Ice : About the Cable, also, was Ice as big as a Man's Middle. The Bows of the Boat were likewise frozen half a Foot thick, so that we were fain to hew and beat it off. The Sun shin'd very clear, and we tore the Topsails out of the Tops, which were hard frozen in them, into a Lump ; so that there they hung a Sunning all Day, in a very Lump ; the Sun not having Power to thaw one Drop of them. After the Boat was fitted, we row'd towards the Shore ; but could not come near the Place where we were used to land, for that it was all thicken'd Water with the Snow, that had fallen upon the Sands, that are dry at Low Water. This made it so difficult to row, that we could not get through it with 4 Oars, yet something higher to the Westward, we got ashore. Seeing now the Winter to come thus extremely on upon us, and that we had very little Wood aboard, I made them fill the Boat, and went aboard, and sent the Carpenter and others to cut Wood ; others to carry it to the Water Side ; whilst the Boat brought it aboard, for I doubted, that we were likely to be debarr'd the Shore, and that we should not go to and again with the Boat. It was miserable and cold already aboard the Ship, every Thing froze in the Hold, and by the Fire Side : Seeing therefore that we could no longer make Use of our Sails, which are the Wings of a Ship, it rais'd many Doubts in our Minds, that here we must stay and winter. After we had brought so much Wood aboard, as we could conveniently stow, and enough as, I thought, would have lasted 2 or 3 Months. The sick Men desir'd, that some little House, or Hovel, might be built ashore, whereby they might be the better shelter'd, to recover their Healths. I took the Carpenter, and others

others, whom I thought fit for such a Purpose, and chusing out a Place, they went immediately to work upon it. In the mean Time, I accompanied with some others wander'd up and down in the Woods, to see if we could discover any Signs of Savages, that so we might the better provide for our Safeties, against them. We found no Appearance that there was any on this Island, nor near unto it: The Snow, by this Time, was half Leg high; and stalking thro' it, we returned comfortless to our Companions, who had all this Time wrought well upon our House. They aboard the Ship, took down our Topsails the mean while, and made a great Fire upon the Hearth in the Hatch Way; so that having well thaw'd them, they folded them up, and put them betwixt Decks, that if we had any Weather, they might bring them again to Yard: Thus in the Evening we return'd aboard.

The 12th, we took our Main Sail from the Yard, which was hard frozen to it, and carried it ashore, to cover our House withal; being first fain to thaw it by a great Fire: By Night they had cover'd it, and had almost hedg'd it about; and the Six Builders desir'd to lie in it ashore that Night, which I condescended unto, having first fitted them with Muskets and other Furniture: and a Charge to keep good Watch all Night. Moreover, they had ashore two Greyhounds, (a Dog and a Bitch) which I had brought out of *England*, to kill us some Deer, if happily we could find any.

By the 13th at Night, our House was ready, and our Six Builders desir'd they might travel up into the Country to see what they could discover.

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The 14th, betimes in the Morning, being fitted with Munition, and their Order to keep together, but especially to seek out some Creek, or Cove, for the Ship, they departed. We aboard took down our two Top-masts, and their Rigging; making Account, if we remov'd, to make Use of our Foresail and Mizzen.

The 15th, in the Evening, our Hunters return'd very weary, and brought with them a small, lean Deer, in four Quarters; which rejoic'd us all, hoping we should have had more of them, to refresh our sick Men withal. They reported, that they had wander'd above 20 Miles, and had brought this Deer above 12 Miles, and that they had seen 9 or 10 more. The last Night they had a very cold Lodging in the Woods, and so it appear'd, for they look'd all almost starv'd, nor could they recover themselves in 3 or 4 Days after. They saw no Sign of Savages, nor of any ravening wild Beasts, nor yet any Hope of Harbour.

The 11th, my Lieutenant, and 5 more, desir'd they might try their Fortunes in travelling about the Island. But they had far worse Luck than the others, altho' they endur'd all Night, and had wander'd very far in the Snow, (which was now very deep) and return'd comfortless and miserably disabled with the Coldness. But what was worse than all this, they had lost one of their Company, *John Barton*; namely, our Gunner's Mate; who being very weary, merely to save the going about, had attempted to go over a Pond that was a Quarter of a Mile over; where, when he was in the very Middle, the Ice brake and closed upon him, and we never saw him more. Considering these Disasters, I resolv'd to fish no more with a golden Hook, for
Fear,

Fear, I weaken'd myself more with one Hunting, than 20 such dear Deers could do me Good. Being now assur'd, that there were no Savages upon the Island, nor yet about us on the other Islands; no, nor on the Main neither, as far as we could discover, (which we further prov'd by making of Fires,) and that the cold Season was now in that Extremity, that they could not come to us, if there were any; we comforted and refresh'd ourselves, by sleeping the more securely. We chang'd our Island Garrison, every Week; and for other refreshing we were like to have none till the Spring.

From this 10th to the 29th, it did (by Interims) snow and blow so hard, that the Boat could hardly venture ashore, and but seldom land, unless the Men did wade in the thick congeal'd Water, carrying one another. We sensibly perceiv'd withal, how we daily sunk into more Miseries. The Land was all deep cover'd with Snow; the Cold multiply'd, and the thick Snow Water increas'd; and what would become of us, *our most merciful God and Preserver knew only.*

The 29th, I observ'd an Eclipse of the Moon, with what Care possibly I could, both in the Trial of the Exactness of our Instruments, as also in the Observation: I refer you to the Observation, in the latter End of this Relation; where it is at large describ'd. This Month of *October* ended with Snow and bitter cold Weather.

The 1st of *November*, I cast up Accounts with the Steward concerning Victuals; the third Part of our Time being this Day out. I found him an honest Man; for he gave me an Account every Week what was spent; and what was still in the Hold remaining under his Hand: I would

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take no Excuse of Leakage or other WASTE, unless he daily shew'd it me. Every Month, I made a new Survey; and every 6 Months, put what we had spar'd, by itself; which now was at least a Month's Provision of Bread, and a Fortnight's of Pease, Fish, &c.

The 3d Day, the Boat endeavour'd to get ashore, but could not get thro' the thick congeal'd Water.

The 4th, they found a Place to get ashore: and so once in 2 or 3 Days, till the 9th, bringing Beer to our Men ashore in a Barrel, which would freeze firmly in the House in one Night. Other Provision they had Store. The Ice Beer, being thaw'd in a Kettle, was not good; and they broke the Ice of the Ponds of Water, to come at Water to drink. This Pond-Water had a most loathsome Smell with it; so that doubting lest it might be infectious, I caus'd a Well to be sunk near the House. There we had very good Water, which tasted, as we flatter'd ourselves, like Milk.

The 10th, having Store of Boards for such a Purpose, I put the Carpenter to work, to make us a little Boat, which we might carry, (if Occasion were) over the Ice, and make Use of her, where there was Water. At Noon, I took the Latitude of this Island, by two Quadrants; which I found to be 52. 00. I urg'd the Men to make Traps to catch Foxes; for we daily saw many. Some of them were pied, black and white: whereby I gather'd, that there was some black Foxes, whose Skins, I told them, were of great Value; and I promis'd, that whosoever could take one of them, should have the Skin for his Reward: Hereupon, they made divers Traps, and

and waded in the Snow, which was very deep, to place them in the Woods.

The 12th, our House took Fire, but we soon quench'd it: We were oblig'd to keep an extraordinary Fire, Night and Day; and this Accident made me order a Watch to look to it continually; seeing, that if our House and Clothing should be burnt, that we should be in a woful Condition. I lay ashore till the 17th; all which Time our Miseries increas'd. It snow'd and froze extremely. At which Time, we looking from the Shore towards the Ship, she look'd like a Piece of Ice, in the Fashion of a Ship; or a Ship resembling a Piece of Ice. The Snow was all frozen about her, and all her Fore-part firm Ice; and so she was on both Sides also. Our Cables froze in the Hawse, wonderful to behold. I got me aboard, where the long Nights I spent, with tormenting Cogitations; and in the Day-time, I could not see any Hope of saving the Ship. This I was assur'd of, that it was impossible to endure these Extremities long. Every Day the Men must beat the Ice off the Cables, while some within Board, with the Carpenter's long Calking Iron, digg'd the Ice out of the Hawses: In which Work, the Water would freeze on their Cloaths and Hands, and would so benumb them, that they could hardly get into the Ship, without being heav'd in with a Rope.

The 19th, our Gunner, (who, as you may remember, had his Leg cut off) languish'd irrecoverably, and now grew very weak; desiring, that, for the little Time he had to live, he might drink Sack altogether; which I order'd he should.

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The 22d, in the Morning, he died. An honest and a strong-hearted Man. He had a close boarded Cabbin in the Gun-room, which was very close indeed ; and as many Cloaths on him, as was convenient, (for we wanted no Cloaths) and a Pan with Coals, and a Fire continually in his Cabbin. Notwithstanding which Warmth, his Plaister would freeze at his Wound, and his Bottle of Sack at his Head. We committed him, at a good Distance from the Ship, unto the Sea.

The 23d, the Ice increas'd extraordinarily ; and the Snow lay on the Water in Flakes, as it fell ; much Ice also drove by us : yet nothing hard all this while. In the Evening, after the Watch was set, a great Piece came athwart our Hawse ; and four more follow'd after him ; the least of them a Quarter of a Mile broad, which in the Dark very much astonish'd us, thinking it would carry us out of the Harbour, upon the Shoal's Eastern Point, which was full of Rocks. It was newly congeal'd, a Matter of two Inches thick ; and we broke thro' it, the Cable and Anchor enduring an incredible Stress, sometimes stopping the whole Ice. We shot off three Muskets, signifying to our Men ashore, that we were in Distress ; who answer'd us again, but could not help us. By 10 o'Clock, it was all pass'd ; nevertheless we watch'd carefully ; and the Weather was warmer than we had felt it any Time this Month. In the Morning by Break of Day, I sent for our Men aboard, who made up the House, and arriv'd by 10, being driven by the Way, to wade thro' the congeal'd Water ; so that they recover'd the Boat with Difficulty. There drove by the Ship many Pieces of Ice, tho' not so large as the former, yet much thicker :

er : One Piece came foul of the Cable, and made the Ship drive.

As soon as we were clear of it, we join'd our Strengths together, and had up our Eastermost Anchor ; and now I resolv'd to bring the Ship aground ; for no Cables nor Anchors would hold her : But I will here shew you the Reasons, why I brought her no sooner aground. First, it was all stony Ground ; Some Stones lying dry, 3 or 4 Foot above Water ; so that it was to be suspected, that it was the like about us. Secondly, it ordinarily flow'd but 2 Foot and a half here ; and if she should bed deep in the Sands, we could not ever come to dig her out again ; for that she would not be dry, by 4 or 5 Foot. Thirdly, it was a loose Sand which might rise with the Surf, or so mount about her, that all our weak Powers could not heave it away in the next Spring Time. Fourthly, we doubted the Tides would not high so much in the Summer, as they did now. Fifthly, we could not bring her out of the Tide's Way, which ran something quick here ; and the Ice, besides, might drive and mount up upon her, and so overset her, or tear her, and carry away her Planks, Iron-Works, and all ; so that we should have nothing left to finish our Pinnace with. Sixthly, if it blew a Storm at N. W. or thereabouts ; the Water would flow ten Foot, and upwards ; and that Wind being of the Shore, it would blow away all the Ice, and there would come in an extraordinary great Surf about the Shoal to the Eastern Point ; which was occasion'd by a deep Overfall. Moreover, she would beat extremely ; and if she were put up by the Sea, or that Surf, it was very doubtful that we should never have her off again. For these Reasons, we en-

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dur'd all the Extremity ; still hoping upon some good and fortunate Accident. But now all our provident Designs we saw to become Foolishness, and that a great deal of miserable Labour had been spent in vain by us. With the Flood, we weigh'd our Westermost Anchor, *perceiving God's Assistance manifestly* ; because it happen'd to be fine warm Weather, otherwise we had not been able to work. The Wind was now S. which blew in upon the Shoar, and made the lowest Tides. We brought the Ship into 12 Foot Water, and laid out one Anchor in the Offing, and another in Shoal Water, to draw her on Land at Command. Our Hope also was, that some Stones that were to the Westward of us, would fend off some of the Ice. We then being about a Mile from the Shore, about 10 o'Clock in the dark Night, the Ice came driving upon us, and our Anchors came home. She drove some 2 Cable's Length, and the Wind blowing on the Shore, by 2 o'Clock she came aground, and stopt much Ice ; yet she lay well all Night, and we took some Rest.

The 25th, the Wind shifted Easterly ; and put Abundance of Ice on us. When the Flood was made, we encourag'd one another, and to work we go ; drawing home our Anchor by main Force, under great Pieces of Ice, our Endeavour being to put the Ship to the Shore. But to our great Discomfort, when the half Tide was made ; (which was two Hours before High Water) the Ship drove among the Ice to the Eastward, do what we could, and so would have on the Shoal Rocks. As I have said before, these two Days and this Day was very warm Weather ; and it rain'd, which it had not yet but once done, since we came hither ; otherwise, it had been impossible.

fible we could have wrought. Withal, the Wind shifted also to the S. and at the very Instant blew a hard Puff; which so continu'd half an Hour. I caus'd the two Topsails to be had up from betwixt Decks, and we hoist'd them up with Ropes in all Haste, and we forc'd the Ship ashore, when she had not half a Cable's Length to drive on the rocky Shoals. In the Evening, we broke Way thro' the Ice, and put an Anchor to Shoreward in 5 Foot Water, to keep her to the Shore, if possible. Here Sir *Hugh Willoughby* came into my Mind, who, without Doubt, was driven out of his Harbour in this Manner, and so starv'd at Sea. *But God was more merciful to us.* About 9 at Night, the Wind came up at N. W. and blew a very Storm. This Wind was of the Shore, which blew away all the Ice from about us, long before we were afloat. There came in a great rolling Sea withall, about the Point; accompanied with a great Surf on the Shore. And now were we left to the Mercy of the Sea, on the Ground. By 10, she began to roll in her Dock, and soon after began to beat against the Ground. We stood at the Capstang, as many as could; others at the Pumps, for we thought that every fifth or sixth Blow would have stav'd her to Pieces. We heav'd to the uttermost of our Strengths, to keep her as near the Ground as we could. By Reason of this Wind, it flow'd very much Water, and we drew her up so high, that it was doubtful, if ever we should get her off again. She continu'd thus beating, till two o'Clock the next Morning, and then she settled again. Whereupon we went to sleep, to restore Nature; seeing the next Tide we expected to be again tormented.

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The 26th, in the Morning Tide, our Ship did not float, whereby we had some Quietness. After Prayers, I call'd a Consultation of the Master, my Lieutenant, the Mates, Carpenter, and Boatswain; to whom I propos'd, that now we were put to our last Shifts; and therefore they should tell me what they thought of it: Namely, whether it were not best, to carry all our Provision ashore; and when the Wind should come Northerly, it were not safest to draw her further off, and sink her. After many Reasonings they allow'd of my Purpose, and so I communicated it to the Company, who all willingly agreed to it. And so we fell to getting up of our Provisions: first, our Bread, of which we landed this Day two Dryfats with a Hoghead of Beef; having much ado to get the Boat through the thick congeal'd Water. In the Evening, the Wind came up at N. E. and E. and fill'd the Bay full of Ice.

The 27th, the Bay continu'd full of Ice, which I hop'd would so continue and freeze, that we should not be forc'd to sink our Ship. This Day we could land nothing.

The 28th, at Break of Day, three of our Men went ashore over the Ice, unknown to me; and the Wind coming up at W. drove the Ice from betwixt us and the Shore, and most Part of the Bay also: And yet not so, but the Boat could go ashore for any Thing. I made the Carpenter fit a Place against all sudden Extremities; for that with the N. W. or Northerly Wind, I meant to effect our last Project. In the Run of her, on the Starboard Side; he cut away the Cieling and the Plank to the Sheathing, some 4 or 5 Inches square; some 4 Foot high from the Keel of her, that so it might be bor'd out, at an Instant. We brought

brought our Bread, which was remaining in the Bread-Room, up into the great Cabbin; and likewise all our Powder, sitting much of our light dry Things betwixt Decks.

The 29th, at 5 in the Morning, the Wind came up at W. N. W. and began to blow very hard. It was ordinary for the Wind to shift from the W. by the N. round about. So first, I order'd the Cooper to go down in Hold, and look to all our Casks; those that were full, to mawl in the Bungs of them; those that were empty, to get up, or if they could not be gotten up, to stave them. Then to coil all our Cables upon our lower Tire, and to lay on our spare Anchors, and any Thing that was weighty, to keep it down from rising. By 7 o'Clock, it blew a Storm at N. W. our bitter Enemy. The Ship was already bedded some two Foot in the Sand, and whilst that was a flowing, she must beat. This I before had in my Consideration; for I thought she was so far driven up, that we should never get her off. Yet we had been so ferrited by her last beating, that I resolv'd to sink her right down, rather than run that Hazard. By 9, she began to roll in her Dock, with a most extraordinary great Sea that was come; which I found to be occasion'd by the foremention'd Overfall. And this was the fatal Hour that put us to our Wits End. Wherefore I went down into the Hold with the Carpenter, and took his Auger and bor'd a Hole in the Ship, and let in the Water. Thus, with all Speed, we began to cut out other Places, to bore through, but every Place was full of Nails. By 10, notwithstanding, the lower Tire was cover'd with Water, for all which, she began so to beat in her Dock more and more, that we could not work, nor stand to do

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do any Thing in her. Nor would she sink so fast as we would have her, but continu'd beating double Blows; first abaft, and then before, that it was wonderful, how she could endure a Quarter of an Hour with it. By 12, her lower Tire rose, and that did so counterbeat on the Inside, that it beat the Bulk Heads of the Bread-room, Powder-room, and Fore-piece, all to Pieces; and when it came betwixt Decks, the Chests fled wildly about, and the Water did flash and fly wonderfully; so that now we expected every Minute, when the Ship would open and break to Pieces. At one, she beat off her Rudder, and that was gone, we knew not which Way. Thus she continu'd beating till 3; and then the Sea came up on the Upper Deck; and soon after, she began to settle. In her, we were fain to sink the most Part of our Bedding and Cloaths; and the Chirurgeon's Chest with the rest. Our Men that were ashore, stood looking upon us, almost dead with Cold, and Sorrows to see our Misery, and their own. We look'd upon them again, and both upon each other with woful Hearts. Dark Night drew on, and I order'd the Boat to be hal'd up, and commanded my loving Companions to go all into her; who express'd their faithful Affections to me, as loath to part from me. I told them, that my Meaning was to go ashore with them. And thus, lastly, I forsook the Ship.

We were 14 poor Souls, now in the Boat, and we imagin'd, *that we were leap'd out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire.* The Ebb was made, and the Water extraordinary thick congeal'd, with Snow; so that we thought assuredly, it would carry us away into the Sea. We thereupon double mann'd 4 Oars; appointing 4 more to sit ready

ready with Oars; and so with *the Help of God we got to the Shore*, haling up the Boat after. One Thing was most strange in this thick Water, that there went a great swelling Sea. Being arriv'd upon the Land, we greeted our Fellows the best we could: At which Time they could not know us, nor we them by our Habits and Voices; so frozen all over we were, Faces, Hair, and Apparel. And here I mean to take Breath awhile, after all this long and unpleasant Relation of our miserable Endeavours; craving leave first of all to speak a Word or two in general.

The Winds, since we came hither, have been very variable and inconstant; and till within this Fortnight, the Southerly Wind was the coldest. The Reason I conceive to be, that it blew from the Main Land; which was all cover'd with Snow; and the North Winds came out of the great Bay which hitherto was open: So that; we were under a S. Bank that shelter'd us; so that we were not so sensible of it.

A N. W. a N. W. by N. and N. N. W. Wind, if it blew a Storm, would raise the Tides extraordinarily; and, in brief, from the W. N. W. to the N. N. E. would raise the Tides in Proportion, as it blew from the Middle Point: The Wind being on the opposite Points, if it blew, it would flow very little at all. The harder it blew, the less Water it would flow. If it were little Wind, or Calm, it would flow indifferently. The Tides do high ordinarily, without being forc'd, about 3 Foot; but being forc'd with the foremention'd Winds, upward of 10 Foot. I could perceive no Difference between Neap and Spring Tides: It flows half Tide; that is, the Flood comes from the Northward,
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and thither returns again, two Hours before high Water; and it is commonly so seen in most Bays or Inlets.

An Account of the Manner of our passing the
WINTER.

AFTER we had hal'd up the Boat, (on the 29th of November,) we went along the Breach Side in the Dark, towards our House, where we made a good Fire, and with it, and Bread and Water, we comforted ourselves, beginning after that to reason one with another, concerning our Ship. I requir'd that every one should speak his Mind freely. The Carpenter, especially, was of Opinion, that she was founder'd, and would never be serviceable. He alledg'd, that she had so beaten, that it was not possible, but that all her Joints were loose, and Seams open; and that by Reason it flow'd so little Water, and no Creek, nor Cove, being near, wherein to bring her aground, he could not devise how he might come to mend it. Moreover, her Rudder was lost, and he had no Iron-work to hang on another. Some alledg'd, that we had heav'd her up so high on the Sands, that they thought we should never have her off again, and that they were assur'd she was already dock'd 3 Foot. Others, that she lay in the Tide's Way, and that the Tides might tear her to Pieces off the Ground; besides which, two of our Anchors we could not now get from under the Ice, which when the Ice brake (which would be of great Thickness by the Spring) would break our Anchors to Pieces, and then we should have no Anchors

chors to bring us Home withal ; provided we got off the Ship, and that she prov'd sound also. I comforted them the best I could with such like Words : My Masters, and faithful Companions, be not dismay'd for any of these Disasters, but let us *put our whole Trust in God*. It is he that giveth, and he that taketh away ; he throws down with one Hand, and raiseth up with another. His Will be done. If it be our Fortunes to end our Days here, we are as near Heaven, as in *England* ; and we are much bound to *God Almighty* for giving us so large a Time of Repentance, who, as it were, daily calls upon us, to prepare our Souls for a better Life in Heaven. I make no doubt, but he will be merciful to us, both here on Earth, and in his blessed Kingdom ; he doth not in the mean Time deny, but that we may use all honest Means to save and prolong our natural Lives withal ; and in my Judgment, we are not yet so far past Hope of returning into our native Country, but that I see a fair Way, by which we may effect it. Admit the Ship be founder'd, (which God forbid, I hope the best) yet have those of our own Nation, and others, when they have been put to these Extremities, even out of the Wreck of their lost Ship, built a Pinnace, and recover'd to their Friends again. If it be objected, that they have happen'd into better Climates, both for Temperateness of the Air, and for pacifick and open Seas ; and provided withal, of Abundance of fresh Victuals ; yet there is nothing too hard for courageous Minds : Which hitherto you have shewn, and I doubt not will still do, to the utmost of your Power.

They all protested to work to the utmost of their Strength, and that they would refuse nothing

thing that I should order them to do, to the utmost Hazard of their Lives. I thank'd them all; and to the Carpenter for his chearful Undertaking, I promis'd to give him so much Plate presently, as should be worth 10 *l.* and if so be I went to *England* in the Pinnace, I would give her him freely, and 50 *l.* in Money over and above, and would moreover gratify all them, that I should see industrious. Thus we resolv'd, to build us a new Pinnace, with the Timber we should get upon the Island; that so in the Spring, if we found the Ship not serviceable, we might tear her up, and plank her with the Ship's Planks. And so for this Night we settled ourselves close about the Fire, and took some Rest till Day-light.

The 30th, betimes in the Morning, I caus'd the Chirurgeon to cut the Hair of my Head short, and to shave away all the Hair of my Face; for it was become intolerable; and because it would be frozen so great with Ice-Sickles.

November. The like did all the Rest, and we fitted ourselves to work. The first Thing we were to do, was to get our Cloaths and Provisions ashore; and therefore I divided the Company. The Master, and a convenient Company with him, were to go aboard; and to get Things out of the Hold. The Cock-swain, with his Gang, were to go in the Boat, to bring and carry Things ashore. Myself, with the rest, to carry it Half a Mile thro' the Snow, unto the Place where we intended to build a Storehouse; as for the heavier Things we purpos'd to lay them upon the Beach. In the Afternoon, the Wind was at S. S. W. and the Water veer'd to so low an Ebb, that we thought we might get something
out

out of our Hold, we lanch'd out our Boat therefore, and with Oars got thro' the thick congeal'd Water. It froze extreme hard, and I stood on the Shore with a troubl'd Mind, thinking verily that with the Ebb the Boat would be carried into the Sea; and then we were all lost Men. But *by God's Assistance*, they got safely to the Ship, and made a Fire there, to signify their Arrival aboard. They fell presently to work, and got something out of the Hold, upon the Decks; but Night coming on, they durst not venture to come ashore, but lay on the Bed in the great Cabbin, being almost starved.

The 1st of *December* was so cold, that I went the same Way over the Ice to the Ship, where the Boat had gone Yesterday. This Day we carried upon our Backs in Bundles 500, of our Fish, and much of our Bedding and Cloaths; which we were fain to dig out of the Ice.

The 2d was mild Weather, and some of the Men going over the Ice, fell in, and very hardly recover'd; so that this Day we could land nothing, neither by Boat nor Back: I put them therefore to make us a Storehouse ashore. In the Evening, the Wind came up at W. and the Ice broke and drove out of the Bay; it was very deep and large Ice, that we were afraid it would have spoil'd the Ship.

The 3d Day, there were divers great Pieces of Ice that came athwart the Ship, and she stopp'd them, yet not so as we could go over them. We found a Way for the Boat; but when she was loaden, she drew 4 Foot Water, and could not come within a slight Shot of the Shore. The Men therefore must wade thro' the thick congeal'd Water, and carry Things out of the Ship upon their Backs. Every Time they waded in the
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in the Ice, 'twas most lamentable to behold. In this extreme cold Evening, they cut away as much Ice from about the Boat as they could, and pick'd it with Hand-spikes out of her, and endeavouring to hoist her into the Ship. There being small Hope, that she could go to and again any more. But use what Means they could, she was so heavy, that they could not hoist her in; but were fain to leave her in the Tackles by the Ship's Side.

The 4th being *Sunday*, we rested; and perform'd the Sabbath Duties of Christians.

The 5th and 6th were extreme cold, and we made Bags of our Store Shirts; and in them we carried our loose Bread over the Ice ashore upon our Backs. We also digg'd our Cloaths and new Sails with Hand Spikes of Iron, out of the Ice, and carried them ashore, which we dry'd by a great Fire.

The 7th Day was so extremely cold, that our Noses, Cheeks, and Hands, did freeze as white Paper.

The 8th and 9th, it was extreme cold, and it snow'd much, yet we continu'd our Labour; in carrying and rolling Things ashore. In the Evening, the Water rais'd the Ice very high, and it broke two Thawghts of our Boat, and broke in the Side of her; but for that Time we could not help it.

The 10th, our Carpenter found Timber to make a Keel, and a Stern, for our Pinnace; the rest wrought about our Provisions, until the 13th Day; and that we spent in digging our Boat out of the Ice, which we were fain to do to the very Keel; and dig the Ice out of her, and then we got her up on the Ice: In doing which, many had their Noses, Cheeks and Fingers, frozen as
white

white as Paper. The Cold now increas'd most extremely. By the 19th, we could get no more Things out of our Hold; but were fain to leave five Barrels of Beef and Pork, all our Beer, and divers other Things; which were all firm frozen in her.

The 21st was so cold, that we could not go out of the House.

The 23d, we went to have our Boat ashore, running her over our Oars; but by 10 o'Clock there came such a thick Fog, that it was as dark as Night. I made them give over, and make what Haste we could to the Shore, which we had much ado to find, for the Time, losing one another. At the last, we met all at the House, the miserablest frozen that can be conceiv'd. Upon divers, the Cold had rais'd Blisters as big as Wall-nuts. This we imagin'd to come, by Reason that they came too hastily to the Fire. Our Well was now frozen up; so that dig as deep as we could, we can come by no Water. Melted Snow-Water is very unwholsome, either to drink or to dress our Victuals. It made us so short-breath'd, that we were scarce able to speak. All our Sack, Vinegar, Oil, and every Thing else that was liquid, was now frozen as hard as a Piece of Wood, and we must cut it with a Hatchet. Our House was all frozen on the Inside, and it froze hard, within a Yard of the Fire Side. When I landed first upon this Island, I found a Spring under a Hill's Side; which I then observing, I caus'd some Trees to be cut for Marks to know the Place again by. It was about three Quarters of a Mile from our House. I sent three of our Men which had been formerly with me, thither upon the 24th. These wading thro' the Snow, at last found the Place, and shovelling
F away

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away the Snow, they made Way to the very Head of it. They found it spring very strongly, and brought me a Can of it, for which I was right joyful. This Spring continu'd all the Year; and did not freeze; but that we could break the Ice, and come to it. We labour'd very hard, these 3 or 4 Days, to get Wood to the House, which we found to be very troublesome, thro' the deep Snow.

We then settled our Bedding and Provisions, providing to keep *Christmas* Day holy, which we solemniz'd in the joyfullest Manner we could: So likewise did we St. *John's* Day: Upon which we nam'd the Wood we did winter in, in Memory of that Honourable Knight, Sir *John Winter*, *Winter's* Forest. And now instead of a *Christmas* Tale, I will here describe the House that we did live in, with those adjoyning.

When I first resolv'd to build a House, I chose the warmest and convenientest Place, and the nearest the Ship withal. It was among a Tuft of thick Trees, under a South Bank, about a slight Shot from the Sea Side. True it is, that at that Time we could not dig into the Ground, to make us a Hole, or Cave, in the Earth, which had been the best Way, because we found Water digging within two Foot; and therefore that Project fail'd. It was a white light Sand; so that we could, by no Means, make up a Mud-Wall. As for Stones, there were none near us; moreover, we were all now cover'd with the Snow. We had no Boards for such a Purpose; and therefore we must do the best we could, with such Materials as we had about us.

The House was square, about 20 Foot every Way; as much namely, as our Main Course could well cover: First, we drove strong Stakes
into

into the earth, round about : which we wattel'd with Boughs, as thick as might be, beating them down very close. This our first Work was six Foot high on both Sides, but at the Ends, almost up to the very Top. There we left two Holes, for the Light to come in at ; and the same Way the Smoke did vent out also. Moreover, I caus'd at both Ends, three Rows of thick Bush Trees, to be stuck up, as close together as possible. Then at a Distance from the House, we cut down Trees ; proportioning them into Lengths of 6 Foot, with which we made a Pile on both Sides, 6 Foot thick, and 6 Foot high ; but at both Ends, 10 Foot high, and 6 Foot thick. We left a little low Door to creep into, and a Portal before that, made with Piles of Wood, that the Wind might not blow into it. We next fasten'd a rough Tree aloft over all : Upon which we laid our Rafter ; and our Main Course over them again, which lying thwart-ways over all, reach'd down to the very Ground, on either Side. And this was the Fabrick of the Outside of it. On the Inside, we made fast our Bonnet Sails round about. Then we drove in Stakes, and made us Bedstead Frames ; about 3 Sides of the House, which Bedsteads were double, one under another, the lowermost being a Foot from the Ground : These, we first fill'd with Boughs, then we laid our spare Sails on that, and then our Bedding and Cloaths. We made a Hearth, in the Middle of the House, and on it made our Fire : Some Boards we laid round about our Hearth, to stand upon, that the cold Damp should not strike up into us. With our Waste Cloaths, we made us Canopies and Curtains ; others did the like with our small Sails. Our second House was not past 20 Foot

distant from this, and made for the Wattling much after the same Manner, but it was less, and cover'd with our Fore-Course: It had no Piles on the South Side; but in Lieu of that, we pil'd up all our Chests, on the Inside: And indeed the Reflex of the Heat of the Fire against them, did make it warmer than the Mansion House. In this House, we dress'd our Victuals; and the subordinate Crew did refresh themselves all Day in it. A third House, which was our Storehouse, about 29 Paces off from this; for fear of firing. This House was only a rough Tree fasten'd aloft, with Rafter laid from it to the Ground, and cover'd over with our new Suit of Sails. On the Inside, we had laid small Trees, and cover'd them over with Boughs; and so stor'd up our Bread, and Fish in it, about 2 Foot from the Ground, the better to preserve them. Other Things lay more carelessly.

Long before *Christmas*, our Mansion House was cover'd thick over with Snow, almost to the very Roof of it. And so likewise was our second House; but our Storehouse all over; by Reason we made no Fire in it. Thus we seem'd to live in a Heap, and Wilderness of Snow; forth of our Doors we could not go, but upon the Snow; in which we made us Paths middle deep in some Places; and in one special Place, the Length of ten Steps. To do this, we must shovel away the Snow first; and then by treading, make it something hard under Foot: The Snow in this Path, was a full Yard thick under us. And this was our best Gallery for the sick Men; and for mine own ordinary Walking. And both Houses and Walks, we daily accommodated more and more, and made fitter for our Uses.

The 27th, we got our Boat ashore; and fetched up some of our Provisions from the Beach Side into the Storehouse; and so by Degrees did we with the rest of our Provisions: with Extremity of Cold and Labour, making Way with Shovels thro' the deep Snow; even from the Sea Side unto our Storehouse. And thus concluded we the old Year, 1631.

The 1st of *January* 1632, and for the most Part all the Month, was extreme cold.

The 6th, I observ'd the Latitude, with what Exactness I could, it being clear Sunshine Weather, which I found to be 51. 52. This Difference, is by Reason that here is a great Refraction.

The 21st, I observ'd the Sun to rise like an Oval, along the Horizon: I call'd three or four to see it, the better to confirm my Judgment, and we all agreed, that it was twice as long as it was broad. We plainly perceiv'd withal, that by Degrees as it got up higher, it also recover'd its Roundness.

The 30th and 31st, there appear'd in the Beginning of the Night, more Stars in the Firmament, than ever I had before seen by two thirds. I could see the Cloud in *Cancer*, full of small Stars; and among the *Pylades*, a great many small Stars. About 10 o'Clock, the Moon rose; and then a Quarter of them was not to be seen. The Wind for the most Part of this Month, hath been Northerly, and very cold: The warmest of which Time we employ'd ourselves in fetching Wood, working upon our Pinnace, and other Things that happen'd. In the Beginning of this Month, the Sea was all firmly frozen over, so that we could see no Water any Way. I hope it will not seem tedious to the Readers, if I here

deliver my Opinion, how this Abundance of Ice comes to be ingender'd.

The Land that encircles this great Bay, (which lies in a broken irregular Form, making many little Shoal Bays, and Guts; being, moreover, full of Islands and dry Sands) is for the most Part low and flat, and hath flat Shoals adjoyning to it, half a Mile or a Mile, that are dry at low Water. Now you must know, that it flows half Tide, (as I have often experienc'd) that is, from whence the Flood cometh, the Water thither returneth, 2 Hours before it is High Water, or full Sea. It seldom rains, after the Middle of *September*, but snows; and that Snow will not melt on the Land nor Sands: At Low Water when it snows, (which it doth very often) the Sands are all cover'd over with it, which the half Tide carries officiously, twice in 4 Hours, into the great Bay, which is the common Rendezvous of it. Every Low Water, the Sands are left clear, to gather more to the Increase of it. Thus doth it daily gather together in this Manner, till the latter End of *October*, and by that Time hath it brought the Sea to that Coldness, that as it snows, the Snow will lie upon the Water in Flakes without changing his Colour; but with the Wind is wrought together; and as the Winter goes forward, it begins to freeze on the Surface of it, 2 or 3 Inches, or more, in one Night: which being carried with the half Tide, meets with some Obstacle, as it soon doth, and then it crumples and so runs upon itself, that in a few Hours, it will be 5 or 6 Foot thick. The half Tide still flowing, carries it so fast away, that by *December* it is grown to an infinite Multiplication of Ice. And thus by this Storing of it up, the Cold gets the Predomination in the Sea, which also furnisheth

furnisheth the Springs and Water, in the low flat Lands, that it cools it like itself. This may appear by our Experience, though in all this, I freely submit myself to the more learned. Our Men found it more mortifying cold to wade thro' the Water in the Beginning of *June*, when the Sea was full of Ice, than in *December*, when it was increasing. Our Well, more-over, out of which we had Water in *December*, we had none in *July*.

The Ground, at 10 Foot deep, was frozen. The Quantity of the Ice, may very easily be made to appear, by Mathematical Demonstration: And yet I am not of the Opinion, that the Bay doth not freeze all over. For the 21st, the Wind blowing a Storm at North, we could perceive the Ice to rise something in the Bay.

Feb. 1632. The Cold was extreme this Month, as at any Time we had felt it this Year; and many of our Men complain'd of Infirmities. Some, of sore Mouths; all the Teeth in their Heads being loose, their Gums swoln, with black rotten Flesh, which must every Day be cut away. The Pain was so sore on them, that they could not eat their ordinary Meat. Others complain'd of Pain in their Heads, and their Breasts: Some of Weakness in their Backs; others of Aches in their Thighs and Knees: And others, of Swellings in their Legs. Thus were two thirds of the Company, under the Chirurgeon's Hand. And yet, nevertheless, they must work daily; and go abroad to fetch Wood and Timber, notwithstanding the most of them had no Shoes to put on. Their Shoes, upon their coming to the Fire, out of the Snow, were burnt and scorch'd upon their Feet, and our Store-Shoes were all sunk in the Ship. In this Necessity they would
F 4 make

make this Shift; To bind Clouts about their Feet, and endeavour'd by that poor Help, the best they could to perform their Duties. Our Carpenter likewise is, by this Time, fallen sick to our great Discomforts. I practis'd some Observations, by the Rising and Setting of the Sun, calculating the Time of his Rising and Setting, by very true Running Glasses. As for our Clock and Watch, notwithstanding we still kept them by the Fire Side, in a Chest wrap'd in Cloaths, yet were they so frozen, that they could not go. My Observations by these Glasses, I compar'd with the Stars coming to the Meridian. By this Means we found the Sun to rise 20 Minutes before it should: And in the Evening to remain 20 Minutes, or thereabouts, longer than it should do. And all this by Reason of the Refraction.

Since now, I have spoken so much of the Cold, I hope it will not be too coldly taken, if I, in a few Words, make it some Way to appear unto our Readers.

We made three Differences of the Cold, all according to the Places. In our House, in the Woods, and in the open Air, upon the Ice, in our going to the Ship.

For the last, it would be sometimes so extreme, that it was almost indurable; no Cloaths were Proof against it; no Motion could resist it. It would, moreover, so freeze the Hair on our Eyelids, that we could not see: and I verily believe, that it would have stifled a Man, in a very few Hours. We daily found by Experience, that the Cold in the Woods would freeze our Faces, or any Part of our Flesh that was bare; but it was yet not so mortifying as the other. Our House on the Out-side, was cover'd two third Parts with Snow; and on the In-side frozen, and hung with Icesickles.

Icefickles. The Cloaths on our Beds would be cover'd with Hoar Frost, which, in this little Habitation, was not far from the Fire. But let us come a little nearer to it. The Cook's Tubs, wherein he water'd his Meat, standing about a Yard from the Fire, and which he all Day ply'd with melted Snow Water: yet in the Night Season, whilst he slept but one Watch, would they be firm frozen to the very Bottom. And, therefore, he was forc'd to water his Meat in a Brass Kettle close adjoyning to the Fire; and I have many Times, both seen and felt by putting my Hand into it; that Side, which was next the Fire, was very warm, and the other Side an Inch frozen; I leave the rest to our Cook, who will almost speak Miracles of the Cold. The Surgeon, who had hung his Bottles of Sirrups, and other liquid Things, as conveniently as he could, to preserve them, had them all frozen: Our Vinegar, Oil, and Sack, which we had in small Casks in the House, was all firm frozen. It may further in general be conceiv'd, that in the Beginning of *June*, the Sea was not broken up; and the Ground was yet frozen; and this we found by Experience, in the burying of our Men; in setting up the King's Standard towards the latter End of *June*; and by our Well, at our coming away in the Beginning of *July*: At which Time upon the Land, for some other Reasons, it was very hot Weather.

March 1632. The 1st of this Month, being *St. David's Day*, we kept Holiday, and solemnized it in the Manner of the Ancient *Britons*; praying for the Happiness of His Royal Highness, *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*.

The 15th, one of our Men thought he had seen a Deer; whereupon, he with two or three
more

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more desir'd that they might go to see, if they could take it. I gave them Leave; but, in the Evening, they return'd so disabled with Cold, which did rise up in Blisters under the Soles of their Feet, and upon their Legs, to the Bigness of Walnuts; that they could not recover their former Estate, which was not very well, in a Fortnight after.

The 26th, three more desire that they also might go out to try their Fortunes; but they return'd worse disabled, and even almost stiff'd with the Cold.

This Evening, the Moon rose in a very long Oval along the Horizon.

By the last of this Month, the Carpenter had set up 17 Ground Timbers, and 34 Staddles: And, poor Man, he proceeded the best he can, tho' he be forc'd to be led to his Labour.

In short, all this Month hath been very cold. The Wind about the N. W. The Snow as deep as it has been all this Winter: But to answer an Objection that may be made; You were in a Wood, (some Men may say unto us) and therefore you might make Fire enough to keep you from the Cold. It is true, we were in a Wood, and under a South Bank too; or otherwise, we had all starv'd. But I must tell you withal, how difficult it is to have Wood in a Wood. And, first, I will make a Muster of the Tools we had: The Carpenter, in his Chest, had two Axes indeed; but one of them was spoil'd in cutting down Wood to pile about our House before *Christmas*: When we first landed we had but two whole Hatchets, which, in a few Days, broke 2 Inches below the Sockets. I call'd for three of the Cooper's Hatchets: The Carpenter's Ax, and the Cooper's best Hatchet, I caus'd to be lock'd

lock'd up; the other two Hatchets to be new helv'd, and the Blades of the two broken Hatchets, to be put into a cleft Piece of Wood, and then to be bound about with Rope Yarn as fast as might be; which must be repair'd every Day. And these were all the cutting Tools we had: Moreover, the 6th of *February*, the Carpenter had out his best Ax, about something, and one of the Company in his Absence, by his indiscreet Handling of it, broke that too, two Inches below the Socket: We must henceforth order these Pieces of Tools the best we could: Wherefore I gave Order, that the Carpenter should have one of the Cooper's Hatchets; they that look'd for Timber in the Woods, the other: And they that cut down Wood to burn, were to have the two Pieces. And this was before *Christmas*.

The three that were appointed to look crooked Timber, must stalk and wade, sometimes on all four, thro' the Snow: And where they saw a Tree likely to fit the Mould, they must heave away the Snow, and then see if it would fit the Mould; then they must make a Fire to it, to thaw it; otherwise it could not be cut. Then cut it down, and fit it to the Length of the Mould; and then with other Help, get it Home, a Mile thro' the Snow.

Now for our Firing. We could not burn green Wood, it would so smoke, that it was intolerable; yea, the Men had rather starve without in the Cold, than sit by it. As for the dry Wood, that also was bad enough in that Kind: for it was full of Turpentine, and would send forth such a thick Smoke, that would make Abundance of Soot: Which made us all look, as if we had been free of the Company of Chimney-Sweepers.

Our

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Our Cloaths were quite burnt to Pieces about us : And for the most Part, we were all without Shoet : But to our Fuellers again. They must first, as the former, go up and down in the Snow, till they saw a Tree standing ; for the Snow cover'd those that were fallen. Then they must hack it down with their Pieces of Hatchets ; and then others must carry it Home through the Snow. The Boys with Cutlasses, must cut Boughs for the Carpenter ; for every Piece of Timber that he work'd, must first be thaw'd in the Fire ; and he must have a Fire by him, or he could not work. And this was our continual Labour, throughout the foremention'd Cold : Besides our tending of the Sick, and other necessary Employments.

April 1632. The 1st of this Month being *Easter-Day*, we solemniz'd it as religiously as God gave us Grace to do. Both this Day, and the two following Holidays were extreme cold : And now sitting all about the Fire, we reason'd and consider'd together upon our Estate : We had five Men, whereof the Carpenter was one, not able to do any Thing. The Boatswain and many more, were very infirm ; and of all the rest, we had but five, that could eat of their ordinary Allowance. The Time and Season of the Year came forwards apace ; and the Cold very little abated : Our Pinnace was in an indifferent Forwardness ; but the Carpenter grew worse and worse : The Ship, as we then thought, lay all full of solid Ice, which was Weight enough to open the Seams of any new and sound Vessel ; especially of one that had lain so long upon the Ground as she had done. In short, after many Disputations, and laying open of our miserable and hopeless Estates, I resolv'd upon this Course ;
that

that notwithstanding it was more Labour, and we weaker and weaker; yet with the firm warm Weather, we would begin to clear the Ship; that we might have the Time before us, to think of some other Course. This being order'd, we look'd to those Tools we had, to dig the Ice out of her; we had but two Iron Bars ashore; the rest were sunk in the Ship, and one of them was broken too. We fell to fitting of those Bars, and four broken Shovels that we had: which we intended, as afterwards we did, to dig the Ice out of her; and to lay that Ice on a Heap, upon the Larboard Bow, and to sink it down to the Ground so fast; that it should be a Barricado to us, when the Ice broke up, which we fear'd would tear us to Pieces.

The 6th, was the deepest Snow we had all this Year; which fill'd up all our Paths and Ways, by which we were used to go unto the Wood: This Snow was something moister and greater, than any we had had all this Year; for formerly it was as dry as Dust, and as small as Sand, and would drive like Dust with the Wind.

The Weather continu'd with this Extremity, till the 15th, at which Time our Spring was harder frozen, than it had been all the Year before. I had often observ'd the Difference betwixt clear Weather and misty Refractive Weather, in this Manner. From a little Hill, which was near adjoining to our House, in the clearest Weather, when the Sun shone with all the Purity of Air, that I could conceive, we could not see a little Island, which bore off us S. S. E. 4 Leag. but if the Weather was misty, as afore-said, then we should often see it, from the lowest Place. This little Island I had seen the last Year, when I was on *Danby* Island: The 13th, I took

took the Height of it instrumentally ; standing near the Sea-side : which I found to be 34 Minutes, the Sun being 28 Degrees high. This shews, how great a Refraction here is. Yet this may be noted by the Way ; that I have seen the Land elevated, by Reason of the Refractive Air ; and nevertheless, the Sun hath risen perfect round.

The 16th, was the most comfortable Sunshine Day, that came this Year ; and I put some to clear off the Snow from the upper Decks of the Ship ; and to clear and dry the great Cabbin, by making Fire in it. Others I put to dig down thro' the Ice, to come by our Anchor, that was in Shoal Water, which the 17th, in the Afternoon we got up, and carried aboard.

The 18th, I put them to dig down thro' the Ice, near the Place where we thought our Rudder might be. They digg'd down, and came to Water ; but no Hopes of finding of it ; we had many Doubts, that it might be sanded : Or that the Ice might have carried it away already, the last Year : Or if we could not recover it by digging before the Ice broke up, and drove, there was little Hopes of it.

The 19th, we continu'd our Mining Work aboard the Ship, and return'd in the Evening to Supper ashore. This Day, the Master and two others desired that they might lie aboard ; which I agreed to : for indeed they had lain very discommodiously all the Winter, and with sick Bed-fellows, as I myself had done ; every one in that Kind taking their Fortunes. By lying aboard, they avoided the hearing of the miserable Groanings, and Lamentings of the sick Men all Night long : enduring, poor Souls, intolerable Torments.

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By the 21st, we had labour'd so hard, that we came to the Sight of a Cask ; and could likewise perceive, that there was some Water in the Hold. This we knew could not be thaw'd Water ; because it froze Night and Day very hard aboard the Ship, and on the Land also.

By the 23^d in the Evening, we came to pierce the foremention'd Cask ; and found it full of very good Beer, which much rejoyc'd us all ; especially the sick Men, notwithstanding it tasted a little of bulg'd Water. By this we thought that the Holes we had cut to sink the Ship were frozen, and that this Water had stood in the Ship all the Winter.

The 24th, we went betimes in the Morning to work ; but we found that the Water was risen above the Ice where we had left Work, about two Foot ; for the Wind had blown very hard at N. the Night before. In the Morning, the Wind came about S. and blew hard, and altho' we had little Reason for it, we yet expected a lower Veer of the Water. I thereupon put them to work on the Outside of the Ship, that we might come to the lower Hole, which we had cut in the Stern-Shoots. With much Labour by Night, we digg'd down thro' the Ice to it ; and found it unfrozen, as it had been all the Winter, and to our great Comforts, we found that on the Inside, the Water was ebb'd within the Hole, and that on the Outside, it was ebb'd a Foot lower. Hereupon I caus'd a Shotboard to be nail'd on it, and to be made as tight as might be, to try if the Water came in any other Way. To the other two Holes, we had digg'd on the Inside, and found them frozen. Now I did this betimes, that if we found the Ship founder'd, we might resolve on some Course to save, or
prolong

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prolong our Lives, by getting to the Main before the Ice were broken up : As for our Boat it was too little, and bulg'd, besides that. Our Carpenter was by this Time past Hopes, and therefore little Hope had we of our Pinnace. But which was worst of all, we had not four Men able to travel thro' the Snow over the Ice, and in this miserable State where we at this present.

The 25th, we satisfied our Longing ; for the Wind now coming about Northerly, the Water rose by the Ship's Side, where we had digg'd down, a Foot and more above the Hold : and yet did not rise within Board. This so encouraged us, that we fell lustily to digging, and to heave the Ice, out of the Ship. I put the Cook and some others, to thaw the Pumps ; who by continual pouring of hot Water into them ; by the 27th in the Morning they had clear'd one of them : Which, we proving, found it deliver'd Water very sufficiently. Thus we fell to Pumping, and having clear'd two Foot Water, we left the other to a second Trial. Continuing our Work thus, in digging the Ice ; by the 28th, we had clear'd our other Pump ; which we also found to deliver Water very well. We found likewise, that the Water did not rise any Thing in the Hold.

The 29th, it rain'd all Day long, a sure Sign to us, that Winter was broken up.

The 30th, we were betimes aboard at our Work : Which Day, and the 31st, were very cold, with Snow and Hail ; which pinch'd our sick Men more than any Time this Year. This Evening being *May Eve* ; we return'd late from our Work to our House, and made a good Fire, and chose Ladies, and ceremoniously wore their Names in our Caps ; endeavouring to revive ourselves

selves by any Means. And because you hear us in this merry Humour; I will make known to you, what good Cheer we kept at *Christmas* and *Easter*; and how we had dieted ourselves all the Winter.

At our Coming from *England*, we were stor'd with all Sort of Sea Provisions, as Beef, Pork, Fish, &c. but now as we had little Hope of recruiting, our Cook order'd it in this Manner.

The Beef, which was to serve on *Sunday* Night to Supper; he boil'd on *Saturday* Night, in a Kettle full of Water, with a Quart of Oatmeal, about an Hour; then taking the Beef out, he boil'd the rest till it came to half the Quantity: And this we call'd Porrage, which we eat with Bread, as hot as we could; and after this we had our Ordinary of Fish. *Sunday* Dinner, we had Pork and Pease; and at Night the former boil'd Beef made more Porrage. In this Manner, our *Tuesdays* Beef was boil'd on the *Monday* Nights; and the *Thursdays* upon the *Wednesdays*. And thus, all the Week, except *Friday* Night, we had some Thing warm in our Bellies, every Supper. And surely this did us a great deal of Good. But soon after *Christmas* many of us fell sick, and had sore Mouths; and could neither eat Beef, Pork, Fish, nor Porrage. Their Diet was only this. They would pound Bread, or Oatmeal, in a Mortar, to Meal; then fry it in a Frying Pan, with a little Oil, and so eat it. Some would boil Pease to a soft Paste, and feed as well as they could, upon that. For the most Part of the Winter, Water was our Drink. In the whole Winter we took not above a Dozen Foxes; many of which would be dead in the Traps, two or three Days, oftentimes; and then when the Blood was settled, they would be unwholsome. But if we took

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one alive, that had not been long in the Trap, him we boil'd, and made Broth for the weakest sick Men; the Flesh of it being soft boil'd they eat also.

Some white Partridges we kill'd; but not worth mentioning.

We had three Sorts of sick Men. Those that could not move nor turn themselves in their Beds, who must be tended like an Infant. Others that were as it were crippl'd with scummy Aches, and others that were something better; most had fore Mouths. You may now ask me, How these infirm Men could work? I will tell you: Our Surgeon, who was a diligent, and sweet condition'd Man, as ever I saw, would be up betimes in the Mornings; and whilst he pick'd their Teeth, and cut away the dead Flesh from their Gums, they would bath their Thighs, Knees, and Legs. The Manner of it was this: There was no Tree, Bud or Herb; but we made Trial of it: And this being first boil'd in a Kettle, and then put in a small Tub, and Basons; they put it under them, and covering themselves with Cloaths upon it; this would so mollify the griev'd Parts, that tho', when they rise out of their Beds, they would be so crippl'd, that they could scarce stand: Yet after this was done half an Hour, they would be able to go (and go they must) to Wood, thro' the Snow, to the Ship, and about other Business. By Night, they would be as bad again; and then they must be bathed, anointed, and their Mouths dress'd again, before they went to Bed. And with this Diet, and in this Manner, we went thro' our Miseries.

I was always afraid, that we should be weakest in the Spring; and therefore I reserv'd a Tun of *Alicant* Wine unto this Time. Of this, by putting

ting seven Parts of Water, to one of Wine, we made some weak Beverage: Which, by Reason that the Wine had been frozen, had lost his Vertue, was little better than Water. The sicker Sort had a Pint of Alicant a Day, by itself; and of such poor Aqua vitæ too, as we had, they had a little Dram allow'd them next their Hearts, every Morning: And thus we made the best Use of what we had, according to the Seasons.

May 1632. The first, we went aboard betimes to heave out the Ice.

The 2d, it did snow and blow, and was so could, that we were forc'd to keep House all Day. This unexpected Cold, at this Time of the Year did so vex our sick Men; that they grew worse and worse: We cannot now take them out of their Beds, but they would swoon: And we had much ado, to keep Life in them.

The 3d, those that were able, went aboard betimes to heave out the Ice. The Snow was now melted in many Places upon the Land, and stood in Plashes: And now there came some Cranes, and Geese to it.

The 4th, while the rest wrought aboard, I and the Surgeon went with a Couple of Pieces, to see if we could kill any of these Fowl for our sick Men; but never did I see such Wild Fowl: They would not indure to see any Thing move. Wherefore we return'd within two Hours, not being able to indure any longer stalking through the Snow, and the wet Plashes. I verily thought that my Feet and Legs would have fallen off, they so tormented me with aching.

The 6th, *John Wardon*, the Master of my Ship's chief Mate died, whom we buried in the Evening, in the most Christian-like Manner we could,

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could, upon the Top of a bare Hill of Sand ; which we call'd *Brandon Hill*.

The Weather continu'd very cold ; freezing so hard in a Night, that it would bear a Man.

By the 9th, we were come to, and got up our five Barrels of Beef and Pork, and had found four Butts of Beer, and one of Cider, which God had preserv'd for us : It had lain under Water all the Winter ; yet we could not perceive that it was any Thing the worse. God make us ever thankful for the Comfort it gave us.

The 10th, it snow'd and blew so cold, that we could not stir out of the House ; yet nevertheless by Day the Snow vanisheth away apace on the Land.

The 11th, we were aboard betimes, to heave out Ice. By the 12th, at Night, we had cleared out all the Ice, out of the Hold, and found likewise our Store-Shoes, which had lain soak'd in the Water all the Winter ; but we dried them by the Fire, and fitted ourselves with them. We struck again our Cables into the Hold ; there stood a But of Wine also, which had been all the Winter on the upper Deck, and continu'd as yet, all firm frozen. We fitted the Ship also, making her ready to sink again, when the Ice broke up. We could hitherto find no Defect in her ; and therefore well hop'd that she was stanch. The Carpenter, nevertheless, argu'd to the contrary ; alledging, that now she lay on the Ground, in her Dock, the Ice had fill'd her Defects, and that the Ice was the Thing that kept out the Water ; but when she should come to labour in the Sea, she would certainly open. And indeed we could now see quite thro' her Seams, betwixt Wind and Water. But that
which

which troubl'd us most, was the Loss of her Rudder, and she now lay in the very Strength of the Tide : Which, whenever the Ice drove, might tear her in Pieces. But we still hop'd the best.

The 13th, being the *Sabbath* Day, we solemnized it; giving God Thanks for those Hopes and Comforts we daily had : The Weather in the Day-time was pretty warm; but it froze by Night; yet now we could see some Land.

The 14th, we began a new Sort of Work. The Boatswain, and a convenient Number sought ashore the rest of our Rigging, which was much spoil'd by pecking it out of the Ice, and this they now fell to fitting. I set the Cooper to fit our Cask, altho', poor Man, he was very infirm; my Intent being, to pass some Cables under the Ship, and so to buoy her up with these Casks; if we could not get her off otherwise. Some others, I order'd to go see, if they could kill some Wild Fowl for our sick Men, who now grew worse and worse. But this is to be remembered, that we had no Shot, but what we made of the Aprons of our Guns, and some old Pewter that I had; for the Carpenters Sheet Lead, we durst not use.

The 15th, I manur'd a little Patch of Ground that was bare of Snow, and sow'd it for Pease; hoping to have some shortly to eat; for as yet we could find no green Thing to comfort us.

The 18th, our Carpenter *Willam Cole* died, a Man belov'd of us all; as much for his innate Goodness, as for the present Necessity we had of a Man of his Quality. He had indur'd a long Sickness, with much Patience, and made a very godly End. In the Evening, we buried him by *Mr. Wardon*, accompanied with as many as could

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go; for three more of our principal Men lay then expecting a good Hour. And now were we in the most miserable State, that we were in all the Voyage. Before his extreme Weakness, he had brought the Pinnace to that Pass, that she was ready to be boulded, &c. and to be joyn'd to receive the Plank; so that we were not so discourag'd by his Death, but that we hop'd ourselves to finish her; if the Ship prov'd unserviceable.

This Pinnace was 27 Foot by the Keel, 10 Foot by the Beam, and 5 Foot in the Hold: She had 17 Ground Timbers, 34 principal Staddles, and 8 short Staddles. He had contriv'd her with a round Stern, to save Labour; and indeed she was a well proportion'd Vessel. Her Burthen was 12 or 14 Tons.

In the Evening, the Master of our Ship, after the Burial, returning aboard, and looking about her; discover'd some Part of our Gunner, under the Gun Room Ports. This Man, we had committed to the Sea, at a good Distance from the Ship, and in deep Water, near Six Months before.

The 19th, in the Morning, I sent Men to dig him out, he was fast in the Ice, his Head downwards, and his Heel upward, for he had but one Leg, and the Plaister was yet at the Wound: In the Afternoon, they had digg'd him clear out; and he was as free from Noisomeness, as when we first committed him to the Sea. This Alteration had the Ice and Water, and Time only wrought on him, that his Flesh would slip up and down upon his Bones, like a Glove on a Man's Hand. In the Evening, we buried him by the others. This Day, one *Geo. Ugganes*, who could handle a Tool best of us all, had pretty well repair'd our Boat, and so we ended
this

this mournful Week. The Snow was by this Time pretty well wasted in the Woods ; and we having a high Tree, on the highest Place of the Island, which we call'd our Watch-Tree ; from the Top of it we might see into the Sea, but found no Appearance of breaking up yet.

This 20th, being *Whitsunday*, we sadly solemnized it, and had some Taste of the Wild Fowl, but not worth the writing.

The 21st, was the warmest Sun-shine Day, that came this Year. I sent two a fowling, and myself, the Master, Surgeon, and one more, with our Pieces and Dogs, we went into the Woods to see what we could find. We wandered from the House 8 Miles, and search'd with all Diligence ; but return'd comfortless, not an Herb nor Leaf eatable, could we find. Our Fowlers had as bad Success. In the Woods, we found the Snow partly wasted away, so that it was passable. The Ponds were almost unthaw'd, but the Sea we could see firm frozen.

The Snow does not melt away here with the Sun or Rain, and so make Land Floods, as in *England* ; but is exhal'd by the Sun, and suck'd full of Holes, like Honey-combs ; so that the Sand whereon it lies will not be at all wetted. The like Observation we also made, that let it rain ever so much, you shall see no Land Floods after it.

The 22d, we went aboard the Ship, and found she had made so much Water, that it was risen above the Ballast, which made us doubt again of her Soundness. We fell to pumping, and pump'd her quite dry. And now by Day sometimes, we have such hot Glooms, that we cannot endure in the Sun, and yet in the Night it would freeze very hard. This Unnaturalness of the Season,

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tormented our Men, that they now grew worse and worse daily.

The 23d, our Boatswain, a painful Man, having been long sick, which he had heartily resisted, was taken with such a painful Ach in one of his Thighs, that we verily thought he would have died presently. He kept his Bed all Day in great Extremity, and it was a Maxim among us, that if any one kept his Bed two Days, he could rise no more. This made every Man to strive to keep up, for Life.

The 24th was very warm Sun-shine, and the Ice consum'd by the Shore's Side, and crack'd all over the Bay, with a fearful Noise. About three in the Afternoon, we could perceive the Ice with the Ebb to drive by the Ship. Whereupon I sent two, with all Speed to the Master, with Order, to beat out the Hole, and to sink the Ship; as likewise to look for the Rudder betwixt the Ice. This he presently performed, and a happy Fellow, one *David Hammon*, pecking betwixt the Ice, struck upon it, and it came up with his Lance; who crying that he had found it, the rest came and got it up on the Ice, and so into the Ship. In the mean Time, with the little Drift that the Ice had, it began to rise and mount into high Heaps against the Shoal Shores, and Rocks, and likewise against the Heap of Ice, which we had put for a Barricado to our Ship; but with little Harm to us; yet we were forc'd to cut away 20 Fath. of Cable, which was frozen in the Ice. After an Hour, the Ice settled again, not having any Vent outwards. Oh! this was a joyful Day to us all, and we gave God Thanks for the Hopes we had of it.

The

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The 25th, was a fine warm Day, and with the Ebb the Ice drove against the Ship, and shook her soundly.

The 26th, I took the Chirurgeon with me, and went again to wander the Woods, and went to that Bay, where last Year we had lost our Man *John Barton*. But we could find no Sign of him, nor of other Relief.

By the 28th, it was pretty clear, betwixt the Ship and the Shore, and I hop'd the Ice would no more dangerously oppress us. Wherefore I caus'd the lower Hole to be firmly stop't; the Water then remaining three Foot above the Ballast.

The 29th, being Prince *Charles's* Birth Day, we kept Holy Day, and display'd his Majesty's Colours, both on Land and Aboard, and nam'd our Habitation, *Charles Town*; by Contraction, *Charlton*: and the Island, *Charlton Island*.

The 30th, we lanch'd our Boat, and had Intercourse sometimes betwixt the Ship and the Shore by Boat, which was News to us.

The last of this Month, we found on the Beach some Vetches, to appear out of the Ground; which I made Men to pick up, and boil for our sick Men.

This Day, we made an End of fitting all our Rigging and Sails; and it being a very hot Day, we dried, &c. our Fish in the Sun, and air'd all our other Provisions. There was not a Man of us at present, able to eat of our Salt Provisions, but myself, and the Master of my Ship. It may be remembred, that all this Winter we had not been troubl'd with any Rheums, nor phlematick Diseases. All this Month the Wind hath been variable, but for the most Part Northerly.

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June 1632. The four first Days, it snow'd, hail'd, and blew very hard, and it was so cold, that the Ponds of Water froze over, and the Water in our Cans froze in the very House; our Cloaths also that had been wash'd and hung out to dry, did not thaw all Day.

The 5th, it continu'd blowing very hard on the Broad Side of the Ship, which made her swag and wallow in her Dock, notwithstanding she was sunk, which shook her very much. The Ice withal drove against her, and gave her many fearful Blows. I resolv'd to endeavour to hang the Rudder; and when God sent us Water, notwithstanding the Abundance of Ice that was yet about us, to have her further off: In the Afternoon, we under-run our small Cable to our Anchor, which lay astern in deep Water; and so with some Difficulty got up our Anchor. This Cable had lain slack under Foot, and under the Ice, all the Winter; and we could never have a clear Slatch from Ice, to have it up, before now; we found it not a Jot the worse. I put some to make Colrakes, that they might go into the Water, and rake a Hole in the Sands to let down our Rudder.

The 6th, we went about to hang it, and our young lustiest Men took it by Turns, to go into the Water, and to rake away the Sand; but they were not able to indure the Cold half a Quarter of an Hour, it was so mortifying; yea, use what Comforts we could, it would make them swoon and die away. We brought it to the Stern Post; but were then forc'd to give it over, being able to work at it no longer. Then we plugg'd up the upper Holes aboard, and fell to pumping the Water out of her again.

The 7th, we wrought about our Rudder, but were again forc'd to give over; and to put our Cables over-board, with Messengers unto them, the Anchor lying to that Pass, that we might keep her right in her Dock, when we had brought her light.

By the 8th, at Night, we had pump'd all the Water out of her; and she a High Water would float in her Dock, tho' she were still dock'd in the Sands, almost 4 Foot. This made us consider what was to be done. I resolv'd to heave out all the Ballast, for the Bottom of her being so soak'd all the Winter, I hop'd was so heavy, that it would bear her. If we could not get her off that Way, I then thought to cut her down to the lower Deck, and take out her Masts; and so with our Casks to buoy her off.

The 9th, betimes in the Morning, we fell to Work. We hoisted out our Beer and Cyder, and made a Raft of it, fastening it to our Shore-Anchor. The Beer and Cyder sunk presently to the Ground, which was nothing strange to us; for any Wood or Pipe Staves that had lain under the Ice all the Winter, would also sink down as soon as ever it was heav'd overboard: This Day we heav'd out 10 Ton of Ballast. And here I am to remember God's Goodness towards us, in sending those foremention'd green Vetches. For now our feeble sick Men, that could not for their Lives stir these 2 or 3 Months, can indure the Air and walk about the House; our other sick Men gather Strength also: And it was wonderful to see how soon they were recover'd. We used them in this Manner: Twice a Day we went to gather the Herb, or Leaf of these Vetches, as they first appear'd out of the Ground; then we wash'd and boil'd them, and so with Oil and Vinegar,

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Vinegar, that had been frozen, we eat them: It was an excellent Sustenance and Refreshing; the most Part of us eat nothing else. We likewise bruis'd them, and took the Juice of them, and mix'd it with our Drink; we eat them raw also, with our Bread.

The 11th, was very warm Weather, and we hung our Rudder. The Tides now very much deceiv'd us; for a Northerly Wind would very little raise the Water. This made us doubt of getting off our Ship.

The 13th, I resolv'd to know the Latitude of this Place; so, having examin'd the Instruments, and practis'd about it this Fortnight, I now found it to be in 52 Deg. and 3 Min.

The 14th, we had heav'd out all the Ballast, and carried all our Yards, and every Thing else of Weight ashore, so that we now had the Ship as light as possible it could be.

The 15th, we did little but exercise ourselves. By this Time, our Men that were most feeble, are now grown strong, and can run about. The Flesh of their Gums became settled again, and their Teeth fasten'd; so that they can eat Beef with their Vetches.

This Day, I went to our Watch-Tree; but the Sea, for any Thing I could perceive to the contrary, was still firm frozen, and the Bay we were in, full of Ice; having no Way to vent it.

The 16th, was wondrous hot, with some Thunder and Lightning; so that our Men went into the Ponds ashore, to swim and cool themselves; yet the Water was very cool still. Here had lately appear'd divers Sorts of Flies; as Butterflies, Butchers-flies, Horse-flies; and such an infinite Number of blood-thirsty Muskitoes, that
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we were more tormented with them, than ever we were with the cold Weather. These, I think, lie dead in the old rotten Wood all the Winter, and in Summer they revive again. Here are likewise an infinite Company of Ants, and Frogs in the Ponds, upon the Land; but we durst not eat of them; they look'd speckled like Toads. By this Time there are neither Bears, Foxes nor Fowl to be seen: they are all gone.

The 17th, the Wind came Northerly, and we expecting a high Tide, in the Morning betimes, put out our small Cable astern, out at the Gun Room Port; but the Morning Tide we had not Water by a Foot. In the Evening, I had laid Marks, by Stones, &c. and I thought the Water flow'd apace. Making Signs therefore for the Boat to come ashore, I took all that were able to do any Thing with me aboard; and at High Water, altho' she wanted something to rise clear out of her Dock, yet we heav'd with such a good Will, that we heav'd her thro' the Sand into a Foot and a half deeper Water; and further we durst not yet bring her, for the Ice was all thick about us. After we had moor'd her, we went all to Prayers; and gave God Thanks, that he had given us our Ship again.

The 18th, we were up betimes; the Cooper, and some with him, to fill fresh Water; myself, with others, to gather Stones at Low Water; which we piling up in a Heap, at High Water, the Cockswain and his Gang, fetch'd them aboard; where the Master with the rest stowed them. The Ship at Low Water had a great Lust to the Offing; by which Means we could the better come and stop the two upper Holes firmly: After which, we fitted other convenient Places, to make others to sink her, if Occasion were.

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The 19th, we were all up betimes to work, as afore specified: These two Days, our Ship did not float; and it was a happy Hour, when we got her off, for we never had such a high Tide all the Time we were here. In the Evening, I went up to our Watch-Tree; and this was the first Time I could see any open Water, any way, except that little by the Shore Side, where we were. This put us in some Comfort, that the Sea would shortly break up, which we knew must be to the Northward; seeing that Way we were certain, there were above 200 Leagues of Sea.

The 20th, we labour'd as aforesaid. The Wind at N. N. W. The Tide rose so high, that our Ship floated, and we drew her further off, into into a Foot and a half deeper Water. Thus we did it by little and little; for the Ice was still wonderful thick round about us.

The 22d, there drove much Ice about us, and within us, and brought Home our Stern-Anchor. At High Water, notwithstanding all the Ice, we heav'd our Ship further off; that so she may lie afloat at Low Water.

The next Low Water, we sounded all about the Ship; and found it very foul Ground, we discover'd Stones 3 Foot high, above the Ground, and two of them within a Ship's Breadth of the Ship; whereby did more manifestly appear God's Mercies to us; for if when we forc'd her ashore, she had struck one Blow against those Stones, it had bulg'd her. Many such Dangers were there in this Bay; which we now first perceiv'd, by the Ice's grounding and rising against them. In the Evening, we tow'd off the Ship, unto the Place she rid the last Year, and there moor'd her. Sheering the Ship, Night and Day, Flood and Ebb,

Ebb, among the dispers'd Ice that came athwart of us.

The 23d, we labour'd in fetching our Provisions aboard: Which to do, we were forc'd to wade to carry it to the Boat a full Flight Shot; and all by Reason the Wind was Southerly. This Morning, I took an Observation of the Moon's coming to the S. by a Meridian Line of 120 Yards long, which I had rectified many Weeks before-hand.

The 24th, I took another Observation of the Moon's coming to the Meridian; for which I refer you to Observations in the latter End of this Journal.

I had formerly cut down a very high Tree, and made a Cross of it: To it, I now fasten'd uppermost the King and Queen's Pictures, drawn to the Life; and doubly wrapt in Lead, and so close, that no Weather could hurt them. Betwixt both these, I affix'd His Majesty's Royal Title: *viz. Charles the First, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland: As also of Newfoundland, and of these Territories, and to the Westward, as far as to Nova Albion, and to the Northward to the Lat. of 80 Deg. &c.*

On the Outside of the Lead, I fasten'd a Shilling, and a Six Pence of His Majesty's Coin: Under that, we fasten'd the King's Arms, fairly cut in Lead; and under that, the Arms of the City of *Bristol*. And this being Midsummer-Day, we rais'd it on the Top of the bare Hill, where we had buried our dead Fellows; formally by this Ceremony taking Possession of these Territories, to His Majesty's Use.

The Wind continuing Southerly, and blowing hard, put all the Ice upon us; so that the Ship now rid among it, in such apparent Danger,
that

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that I thought verily we should have lost her. We labour'd, Flood and Ebb, both with Poles and Oars, to heave away and part the Ice from her. But it was God that protected and preserv'd us; for it was past any Man's Understanding, how the Ship could indure it, or we by our Labour save her. In the Night, the Wind shifted to the Westward, and blew the Ice from us; whereby we had some Rest.

The 25th, in the Morning, the Boatswain with a convenient Crew with him, began to rig the Ship; the rest fetching our Provisions aboard. About 10 o'Clock, when it was something dark, I took a Lance in my Hand; and one with me with a Musket and some Fire, and went to our Watch-Tree, to make a Fire on the eminentest Place of the Island; to see if it would be answered: Such Fires I had formerly made to have Knowledge, if there were any Savages on the Main, or the Islands about us. Had there been any, my Purpose was to have gone to them, to get some Intelligence of some Christians, or some Ocean Seas thereabouts. When I was come to the Tree, I laid down my Lance, and so did my Consort his Musket; whilst I myself climb'd up to the Top of the Tree, I order'd him to put Fire to some low Tree thereabouts. He, unadvisedly, put Fire to some Trees that were to Windward; so that they, and all the rest too, by Reason it had been very hot Weather, being dry, took Fire like Flax or Hemp; and the Wind blowing the Fire towards me, I made Haste down the Tree. But before I was half Way down, the Fire took in the Bottom of it, and blaz'd so fiercely upwards, that I was forc'd to leap off the Tree, and down a steep Hill; and, in short, with much ado, escap'd burning.

ing. The Moss on the Ground was as dry as Flax, and it ran most strangely; like a Train along the Earth. The Musket and Lance were both burnt. My Consort at last came to me; and was joyful to see me; for he thought verily I had been burnt. And thus we went homeward together, leaving the Fire increasing, and burning most furiously. I slept but little all Night after; and at Break of Day, I made all our Powder and Beef, to be carried aboard. This Day, I went to the Hills, to look to the Fire; where I saw it still burn most furiously, both to Westward; and Northward: Leaving one upon the Hills to watch it, I came Home immediately, and made them take down our new Suit of Sails, and carry them to the Sea Side, ready to be cast in, if Occasion were, and to make Haste to take down our Houses. About Noon, the Wind shifted Northerly; and our Sentinel came running Home, bringing us Word that the Fire follow'd him at his Heels, like a Train of Powder. There was no Occasion to bid us to take down and carry all to the Sea Side. The Fire came towards us with a most terrible rattling Noise; bearing a full Mile in Breadth; and by that Time we had uncover'd our Houses and going to carry away our last Things, the Fire was come to our Town, and seiz'd it; and, in a trice burnt it down to the Ground. We lost nothing of any Value, for we had brought all away into a Place of Security. Our Dogs, in this Combustion, would sit down on their Tails, and howl; and then run into the Sea, on the Shoals, and there stay. The Wind shifted Easterly, and the Fire tang'd to the Westward, seeking what it might devour. This Night, we lay altogether
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aboard the Ship, and gave God Thanks, who had been thus merciful unto us.

The 27th, 28th, and 29th, we wrought hard, in fetching our Things aboard, as likewise our Water, which we must tow off with the Ebb, and bring it to the Ship with the Flood: Moreover we must go about the Eastern Point for Drift Wood; for the Tools were all so spent, that we could cut none. Therefore, about three Days ago, I had caus'd our Pinnacle to be saw'd to Pieces, and with that we stow'd our Cask, intending to burn it at Low Water, and such other Times, as we could not work in carrying Things aboard. I employ'd the Men in fetching Stones, and we built three Tombs over our three dead Fellows; filling them with Sand in a decent and handsome Fashion. The least Tomb, had two Tons of Stones about it.

The 30th, we most earnestly continu'd our Labour, and brought our Sails to Yard; and by 11 o'Clock at Night had made a pretty Ship; meaning to have finish'd our Business with the Week and the Month, that so we might the better solemnize the Sabbath ashore to Morrow, and so take Leave of our wintering Island.

The Wind had been variable a great While, and the Bays so clear of Ice, that we could not see a Piece of it; for it was all gone to the Northward. Hoping that it may give Content to some Readers, I will relate the Manner of the breaking of it up. It is first to be noted, that it doth not freeze naturally above 6 Foot; the rest, is by Accident. Such is that Ice that you may see here, 6 Fath. thick. This we had manifest Proof of, by our digging the Ice out of the Ship; and by digging to our Anchors, before the Ice broke up.

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In *May*, when the Heat increaseth, it thaws first on the Shoal by the Shore Side ; which when it hath done round about, then the Courses of the Tides, as well by the Ebb and Flood, as by their Rising and Falling, do so shake the main Ice, that it cracks and breaks it. Thus, when it hath got Room for Motion ; then runs one Piece of it upon another, and so bruises and grinds itself against the Shoals and Rocks, that it breaks so, that a Ship may pass thro' it. Besides this ; much of it is thrust upon the Shoals, where it is consum'd by the Heat of the Sun. The Season in this Climate, is most unnatural ; for in the Day Time, it will be extreme hot ; yea intolerable, by Reason it is a sandy Country. In the Night again, it will freeze an Inch thick in the Ponds, and in the Tubs about and in our House : And all this, towards the latter End of *June*.

The Muskitoes upon our coming away, were most intolerable. We tore an old Flag in Pieces, and made us Bags of it to put our Heads in ; but it was no Fortification against them. They would find Ways and Means to sting us, that our Faces were swoln hard out in Pimples, which would so itch and smart, that we must needs rub and tear them. And these Flies, indeed, were more tormenting to us, than all the Cold we had heretofore endured.

July 1632. The 1st of this Month being *Sunday*, we were up betimes. And I caus'd our Ship to be adorn'd the best we could ; our Flag on the Poop, and the King's Colours in the main Top. I had provided a short Account of all the Passages of our Voyage to this Day : I likewise wrote in what State we were at present, and how I intended to prosecute the Discovery, both to

the Westward, and to the Southward, about this Island. This brief Discourse I had concluded, with a Request to any noble-minded Traveler that should take it down, or come to the Notice of it; that if we should perish in the Action, then to make our Endeavours known to our Sovereign Lord the King. And thus with our Arms, Drums and Colours, Cook and Kettle, we went ashore, and first we march'd up to our eminent Cross, adjoining to which we had buried our dead Fellows. There we read Morning Prayer, and then walk'd up and down till Dinner Time. After Dinner, we walk'd to the highest Hills, to see which Way the Fire had wasted. We descried, that it had consum'd to the Westward, 16 Miles at least, and the whole Breadth of the Island: Near our Cross and Dead, it could not come; by Reason it was a bare sandy Hill. After Evening Prayer, I happen'd to walk along the Beach Side; where I found an Herb resembling Scurvy Grass. I had some gather'd, which we boil'd with our Meat to Supper. It was most excellent good, and far better than our Vetches. After Supper we all went to seek for more of it; which we did, to the Quantity of two Bushels, which did afterwards much refresh us: And now the Sun was set, and the Boat come ashore for us: Whereupon we assembl'd ourselves together, and went up to take the last View of our Dead, and to look unto their Tombs, and other Things.

So fastening my Brief, which was securely wrapp'd up in Lead, to the Cross, we presently took Boat and departed, and never put Foot more on that Island. This Island, and all the rest, as likewise the Main, is a light white Sand; cover'd over with a white Moss, and full of Shrubs

Shrubs and low Bushes ; excepting some bare Hills, and other Patches. In these bare Places, the Sand will drive with the Wind like Dust. It is very full of Trees, as Spruce and Juniper ; but the biggest Tree I saw, was but a Foot and a half over. At our first coming hither we saw some Deer and kill'd one, but never any since. Foxes, all the Winter we saw many, and kill'd some Dozen of them ; but they went all away in *May*. Bears we saw a few, but kill'd none ; we saw some other little Beasts. In *May* there came some Fowl, as Ducks and Geese ; of which we kill'd very few. White Partridges we saw, but in small Quantities ; nor had we any Shot to shoot at them. Fish, we could never see any in the Sea, nor no Bones of Fish on the Shore Side, excepting a few Cockle Shells, and yet nothing in them neither. Other Things remarkable I have before mention'd.

Our Discovery, and Return Home.

SUNDAY, being the Second of *July* 1632. we were up betimes, about Stowing and Fitting our Ship, and Weighing of our Anchors, which when the last was a-trip, we went to Prayer, beseeching God to continue his Mercies to us, and rendering him Thanks for having thus restor'd us. Our Ship we found no Defect in ; we had Abundance of such Provisions, as we brought out of *England* ; and we were in indifferent Health, and gather'd Strength daily. This being done, we weighed, and came chearfully to sail. The Wind at N. W. bad to get away. Wherefore we stood over to *Danby* Island, to take in more Wood ; and there to be ready to

take the Opportunity of a fair Wind. I went ashore with the Boat, for some of the Company had told me, they had seen some Stakes the last Year driven into the Ground. When we came ashore, whilst some gather'd Wood, I went to the Place; where I found two Stakes, drove into the Ground a Foot and half, and Firebrands, where a Fire had been made by them. I pull'd up the Stakes, which were about the Bigness of my Arm; and they had been cut sharp at the Ends, with a Hatchet, or some other good Iron Tool, and driven in as it were with the Head of it. They were distant about a Stone's Throw, from the Water Side. I could not conceive, to what Purpose they should be there set; unless it were for some Mark for Boats. This did augment my Desire, to speak with the Savages; for without Doubt they could have given Notice of some Christians, with whom they had some Commerce. About 4, in the Evening, I return'd aboard with a Boat's Lading of Wood: And the Wind something favouring, we weigh'd; with our Lead seeking out a Channel amongst these dangerous Shoals. In the Evening, the Wind opposing itself; we came to Anchor betwixt *Charlton* Island, and that Island we nam'd the last Year, in Memory of that Honourable Gentleman, Master *Thomas Cary*, one of the Bed-Chamber to the King, *Cary's Island*; where we rid all Night.

The 3d, at Break of Day, we weigh'd with a bare Wind, and sounding up and down for a Channel; we were many Times in 5 and 4 Fathom Water. The Wind larging upon us, we stood away West; by Noon, we saw all the Ice Northward of us. Indeavouring, therefore, to compass about the Western Point of *Charlton* Island;

Island; and so to seek to the Southward. We found it all Shoals, Rocks and Breaches. By 4 in the Afternoon, we saw the Western Land; but all full of Ice: Whereupon, as the Wind favour'd us, we stood along it in Sight to the Northward.

The 4th was calm, but so very thick Fog withal, that we could not see a Pistol Shot about us. Wherefore we came to an Anchor, and there rid all this Day, and the next Night.

The 5th, at Three in the Morning, we weigh'd; but the Ice being all about us, we knew not which Way to turn us. Now, to avoid telling the same Thing twenty Times, we were continually, till the 22d, so pester'd and tormented with Ice, that it would seem incredible to relate it; sometimes we were so blinded with Fog, that we could not see about us: And we did so strike against the Ice, that the fore Part of the Ship would crack again; and make our Cook and others to run up all amaz'd, and think the Ship had been beaten all to Pieces. Indeed, we did hourly strike such unavoidable Blows, that we left the Hatches open, and twenty Times in a Day, the Men would run down into the Hold, to see if she were bulg'd.

Sometimes, when we had made her fast in the Night, to a great Piece of Ice; we should have such violent Storms, that our Fastening would break, and then the Storm would beat us from Piece to Piece most fearfully. Other Times we should be fast inclosed among great Ice, as high as our Poop. This was made, as I have formerly said, by one Piece running upon another; which made it draw 8 or 10 Fath. Water. Besides which, the lowermost would rise from underneath, and strike us under the Bulge, with

Pieces of 5, 6, yea of 8 Tuns, that many times we have pump'd clear Water for an Hour together, before we could make the Pump suck. Among these several and hourly Dangers, I overheard the Men murmur, and say, that they were happy that I had buried; and that if they had a Thousand Pounds they would give it, so they lay fairly by them; for we, say they, are destin'd to starve upon a Piece of Ice. I was forc'd to suffer all this with Patience, and to comfort them again, when I had them in a better Humour.

The 22d, having been vex'd with a Storm all last Night, and this Morning with a thick Fog, we drove in 13 Fath. Water. About Noon, it clear'd, and we saw the Land; and at that Instant had a good Observation, whereby we knew it to be Cape *Henrietta Maria*. I made the Master stand in with it, and in the mean Time we fitted a Cross, and fasten'd the King's Arms, and the Arms of the City of *Bristol* to it: We came to an Anchor within a Mile of the Shore, in 6 Fath. Water; so we hoist'd out our Boat, and took our Arms and our Dogs, and went ashore. Upon the most eminent Place we erected the Cross; and then seeking about, we soon saw some Deer, and by and by more and more. We stole to them with the best Skill we had, and then put our Dogs on them; but the Deer ran clear away from them at Pleasure. We tir'd the Dogs, and weary'd ourselves, but to no Purpose; neither could we come to shoot at them. I saw in all, about a Dozen, old and young, very goodly Beasts. We took half a Dozen young Geese, on the Pools, by wading into them; and so return'd to our Boat vex'd, that we had found a Place where there was Refreshment, and we could get none of it. Whereas, we had kept our
Dogs

Dogs, with a great Deal of Inconvenience aboard the Ship, all the Winter, and had pardoned them many Misdemeanors; (for they would steal our Meat out of the Steeping Tubs) in Hopes they might hereafter do us some Service; and seeing they now did not, and that there was no Hope they could hereafter, I caus'd them to be left ashore. They were a Dog and a Bitch; Buck Dogs, of a very good Breed. The Dog had a Collar about his Neck, which perhaps hereafter may come to Light. I saw no Sign of any Savages, nor could we find any Herbs or other Refreshment here.

In the Evening, being return'd aboard, and the Wind blowing fair at S. I caus'd the Master to weigh, and come to Sail, and to lose no Time. For we hop'd for an open Sea to the N. W. This Cape has a very Shoal Point that lies off it; which we endeavour'd to compass about.

Sailing therefore among shatter'd Ice, we came to very Shoal Water, 4 and 5 Fath. deep, and could not avoid it. At Length standing N. the Water deepen'd; but we came withal among great Pieces of Ice, which by Reason of some open Water, there was a pretty Sea. These hard Pieces of Ice made a most dreadful Noise. It prov'd a fair Moon-shine Night; otherwise it had gone ill with us. We turn'd among this Ice, staying the Ship sometimes within her Length, of great Pieces, as bad as Rocks; but by Reason we were often forc'd to bear up, we did sag upon the main Rand of Ice, and we thought it would be worse for us; we let fall an Anchor, and stood all on the Decks to watch the Ice's sheering off the Ship, to and again, to avoid it. Thus having Poles and Oars to fend
it,

it, we could not keep ourselves so clear, but many Pieces came foul of us. We broke two of our great Poles with it, which were made to be handl'd by four Men, besides some other Damages. At Break of Day, we weigh'd; and fought all Ways to clear ourselves of Ice; but it was impossible. I conceive it impertinent to relate every particular Day's Passages, which were much alike to us. Our Endeavours were sometime with our Sails, giving and receiving 500 fearful Blows in a Day. Sometimes, we would stop at an Anchor, when we could get a little open Water; and so suffer the Ice to drive to Leeward: Other Times, we should be inclos'd among it, and then it would so break, and rise, and leap up under us, that we expected every Hour to be beaten to Pieces.

Moreover, we should have such Storms in the dark Nights, that would break our Moorings we had made fast to some Piece of Ice for Security in the Night Season; and then we should beat most dangerously from Piece to Piece till Day-light, that we could see to make her fast again. I forbear to speak of thick Fogs which we had daily; which froze our Rigging Day and Night: Besides all which, we should come into most uncertain Depths; sometimes 20 Fath. next Cast 10, next 15; then 9, rocky foul Ground. The great deep Ice withal, driving on these uncertain Depths, did so distract the Tides, and deceive us so much in our Account, that by the 30th, we were driven back so far, to the Eastward, and to the Southward of the Cape; that at 5 o'Clock in the Evening, it bore N.W. of us some 3 Leag. off, contrary to our Expectations. With all these Mischiefs, our Ship is now become very leaky, that we must pump
every

ever Half Watch. Here I call'd a Consultation, and after considering all our Experience, we were of Opinion, that it was impossible to get to the Northward, or to the Eastward; by Reason of the Ice. Wherefore I resolv'd upon this Course: When the Wind blew S. it would blow the Ice off the S. Shore, then we would seek to get to the Westward, betwixt it and the Shore. I must confess, that this was a desperate Resolution; for all the Coast we knew to be shoal and foul Ground, all Rocks and Stones; so that if the Wind should shift to the Northward, there would be, without God's Mercies, little Hope of us. But here we must not stay; the Nights grew long, the Cold so increas'd; that betwixt the Pieces of Ice, the Sea would be frozen. I caus'd the Ship to be fitted, and Places convenient again prepar'd to sink her the second Time, if so be we were put to Extremities. We presently put our Project in Execution (the Wind being at S.) and got about the Shoals of the Cape; standing then into the Shore-ward, to get betwixt it and the Ice: We came into 4 Fath. Water, (very foul rocky Ground) thinking to come to an Anchor all Night, and let the Ice drive to Lee-ward. But still there was so much Ice betwixt us and the Shore, that we were forc'd to bear up among it into deeper Water, and to let the Ship drive among it. The Wind increasing, we endur'd a most dangerous dark Night of it. In the Morning we fell to Work, to get the Ship again out of the Ice into some clear Water, which we saw W. by S. of us. Some of our Company out upon the Ice, to heave her with their Shoulders, whilst others stood aboard with Poles. The rest stood to fill and spill the Sail. By 9 in the Morning, we had got into some clear Water, and stood

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stood W. and by S. and into 4 Fath. Water, foul Ground. But being not able to weather some Rands of Ice, which did drive; we were forc'd to stand off again, and when the Evening grew dark, to come to an Anchor.

About Midnight, there came a great Piece of Ice, (which we could not avoid) athwart of our Cable, and made the Ship drive and drag her Anchor. This drove her into Shoal Water, it being very rocky and foul Ground. We brought the Cable to Capstang, and heav'd with such a Courage, that we heav'd Home our Anchor from under it. Thus we endeavour'd, the best we could, to keep ourselves in 8 and 10 Fath. Water. It then pleas'd God, that the Wind blew along the Shore; otherwise it had gone far worse with us.

August 1632. The 1st of this Month, at Break of Day, when we could see a little about us, we were forc'd to struggle again with the Ice, and to get in nearer to the Shoar. By Reason the Wind was opposite to come to an Anchor, we let the Ice drive to Leeward; hoping there was a clearing Sea to the Westward. The Ice drove very thick upon us, and one Piece came foul of us; which touch'd our Sprit-Sail Yard, and made the Ship drive; but we soon clear'd ourselves of it. Then we weigh'd, and stood in nearer to the Shore; but the Water shoal'd, and there were so many great Rands of Ice betwixt us and the Shore, that there was no coming to an Anchor. So we turn'd betwixt the Ice, many Pieces of it being aground in Shoal Water, and few Pieces distant one from the other a Cable's Length. This Day, we saw two Sea Morfes on the Ice.

The 2d, in the Morning, we were glad of the Break of Day; having most dangerously turn'd among the Ice, and endur'd many a heavy Blow. We stood in again to the Shoreward, to see if we could get some clear Water, for to the Northward it was all impassable Ice. We stood into 5 and 4 Fath. but still all incompass'd with Ice. So we stood off again into deeper Water; and in the Evening we were inclos'd among extraordinary great Pieces. It was a very thick Fog withal; so that we made fast the Ship to a great flat Piece, and went to sleep and refresh ourselves after our extreme Pains-taking.

The 3d, 4th, and 5th, we were inclos'd among very great Ice; and it blew such a Storm of Wind, that we endeavouring to get forward to the Westward, struck such heavy Blows, that made all the Fore Part of the Ship crack again. Then we would give over working and let her alone among it; but then the Ice would break and rise under us, and that would endanger us as bad as the former. Our Ship doth make above a Tun of Water every Watch, which we must pump out, beside our other Labour. God think on us, and be merciful unto us among all these Dangers.

The 5th, at Noon, we were in Lat. 55. 30. the Cape bearing off us S. E. by E. 12 Leagues off. And this all we have got since the 22d of July. All Night it blew a violent Gale of Wind, at W. N. W. and about Midnight, our Hawser, (by which we made fast to a Piece of Ice) broke, and we lost 14 Fath. of it. We beat all Night most fearfully, being toss'd from Piece to Piece, because in the Dark, we durst not venture our Men to go on the Ice, for fear of losing them.

All

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All the 6th, the Storm continu'd, and drove us again, with the Ice, almost to the Cape.

The 7th, was the most comfortable Day we had, since we came out of our Wintering Place, the Wind came up fair at E. and we got, altho' with our former Inconveniencies and Dangers, nearer to the Shore, and into some open Water, making good Way to the Westward. Moreover, our Leak now stopt of its own Accord; so now we pump'd but little. We sail'd all Night; keeping good Watch on the Fore Castle; bearing up from one, and looſſing for another.

Thus we did the 8th also, but then the Wind shifting to the N. W. it drove the Ice on the Shore, and we came to an Anchor in 8 Fathom Water. The main Ice, we had some two Miles to Windward of us; but the Set of the Tide kept it off from us. At Noon, we were in Latitude 55. 34. In the Evening, a Range of Ice drove upon us, which made us weigh, and stand in nearer the Shoar into 6 Fath. and there come to an Anchor. The Wind increasing about Midnight, the Ship drove, and was quickly in 5 Fathom Water; wherefore we let fall our Sheet-Anchor, and both held her. But what troubl'd us, was, we expected every Minute that the main Ice would come upon us; then there would be no Hope, but to be put ashore.

The 9th, in the Morning, we weigh'd our second Anchor, the Ice being within less than a Mile of us. About 8 in the Morning, a Point of it came soul of us; which we prevented, by weighing, and came to an Anchor in 3 Fath. and a Half Water. The Wind continu'd N. N. W. which was in on the Shoar. This Morning, I caus'd all our empty Casks to be fill'd with
Water,

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Water, and the Ship to be left unpump'd, and the Place look'd to, that we had prepar'd to sink her. For we were at present in as apparent Danger, as any Time this Voyage; and to our great Grief it was all foul rocky Ground. The Danger of this was, if we made fast to a Piece of Ice that drew deep Water; then, as soon as it came to Ground on the Rocks, it would break all to Pieces, and betray us to our Destruction. About Noon, there came foul of us the Point of a Range of Ice, which we resolv'd to indure the Extremity of, with an Anchor, thinking to ride and break thro' it, we now perceiving some open Water beyond it. Thrusting therefore, and fending with our Poles; at last a great Piece came athwart our Hawser, and there went a pretty Sea among it. The Ship now fell upon it so violently, that I expected every Blow, she would beat out her Bows. At length, she drove with it, so that I thought the Cable had been broke. We brought it to Capstang to heave it in, but found that our Sheet-Anchor was broken in the Middle of the Shank. We presently set our Sails thereupon, endeavouring that Way to edge in among the Ice off of this dangerous Shore. It pleas'd God to favour our Labour so, that by 8 in the Evening we got off into 7 Fath. and a dark Night coming on, we made fast to the biggest Piece we could find. It blew fairly all Night, but about Midnight, the Wind came up at N. which was more on the Shore than before. By Break of Day, on the 10th, we were driven into 4 Fath. very foul Ground; so that the Lead fell off the Rocks 3 or 4 Foot, we set our Sails, and us'd our utmost Endeavours to edge off. Some of us went upon the Ice to hale her, others stood with Poles to thrust by Night. At Night
we

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we got off, into 8 Fath. and made fast to the biggest Piece we could find. If any Man should ask, Why we now kept so near the Shore, in this continual Danger? I answer, because in the Offing, the Ice was so extraordinary thick, that we could make no Way thro' it. Moreover, when we were in that great thick Ice, and the Wind came up fair at S. or S. E. or E. we could not get out of it. Therefore we chuse to run this Adventure; and so prevent and overcome all Dangers, *with God's Assistance, and our extreme Labour.*

The 11th, in the Morning, was a thick Fog; yet there sprung up a Gale of Wind at E; and we made in for the Shore.

From the 11th to the 14th, the Wind continued fair, and we made all the Sail we could, Night and Day, as the Ice would suffer us. We had the Shore in Sight by Day, on one Side, and the Ice within 2 Miles, on the other, and we sail'd among dispers'd Pieces; looffing for one, and bearing up for another.

The 14th, at Noon, we were in Lat. 57. 55. In the Evening, we were imbay'd in Ice, and stood S. W. to clear ourselves of it, but could not. But seeing from Top-Mast Head clear Water over it, we put into it; but there arose a very thick Fog, and Night came on withal, that we were forc'd to fasten to a Piece of Ice, expecting Day and better Weather.

The 15th, in the Morning, although the Fog was very thick, we endeavour'd to get out of the Ice, and stood away W. but within 2 Hours the Water shoal'd from 40 Fath. to 25; whereby we knew that we had the Shoaling of the Western Shore. Then we shap'd our Course to the Northward; the Fog continuing so thick, that
we

we could not see a Pistol-shot about us. We had not stood this Way two Hours, but we heard a Rut of the Ice a Head of us, which made the most hideous Noise, of any we had heard this Voyage. We hal'd our Tacks aboard, and stood to the Westward, in this Day Darkness; Hearing of it sometimes, and seeing it sometimes; which was very large, deep, and high Ice, above the Water. We weather'd it all, except some few Pieces, and got into open Water. About Sunset, there came a sudden Gust at N. N. W. and before we could handle our Sails, it was with us, and put us into some Trouble. It dally'd with us by Gusts, till 9 o'Clock; and then it fell into a most violent Storm. We consider'd where we might have the clearest Drift, and so took in all, and let her drive, her Head to the Shoreward. Before Midnight, the Water shoal'd on us, to 15 Fath. Then we turn'd her Head to the Eastward, and set our main Course low set, but as much as she could bear. The Water deepen'd but little, and we knew that we were on those Rocky Shoals, which we struck on the last Year. *God be merciful unto us.* Here was the first great breaking Sea we had this Year.

The 16th, in the Morning, we were driven to a great Rand of Ice; to avoid which, we set our Fore-Course to, and stood to the Shoreward, in 13 Fath. Water; and then about again. We stood in a Mile to the Ice, but there went a great swelling Sea in it, that it was not durable; so we stood out again. About 3, in the Afternoon, the Storm broke up, and blew fair at N. W. which produc'd Good for us; for we had not Drift for 4 Hours. Besides, it was but two Leag. betwixt the Shoals and the Ice. We set

all our Sails, and endeavour'd to weather the Ice ; but in the Evening we were still pester'd with it. By Midnight, we knew not which Way to turn, nor what to do ; so we took in all our Sails, and let her drive among it. The Ice beat us on every Side, for there went among it a very great full Sea.

The 17th, in the Morning, when we could see about us, we were in the Midst of it ; but in the last Storm it was all broken into Pieces, as big as a Boat of 3 or 4 Tun, which gave us many a heavy Blow in the dark Night. If this Storm had taken us among it, it had beaten us all to Pieces, *without God's miraculous Preservation*. We made Sail, and endeavour'd to clear ourselves of it to the Northward, which by 8 in the Morning, we had done.

We then went to Prayer, and gave God hearty Thanks, that had deliver'd us out of it. For we were hourly, for the Space of Six Weeks, as it were in the Jaws of Death ; yea, never any that I have heard of have been so long, in such long Nights, upon a foul Shore, tormented with Ice, as we have been. At Noon, we were in Latitude 58. 20.

Now, as touching the Dissolution of the Ice, we found, that this Storm had torn and shattered this Rand of Ice, which was on the Outside ; altho' it must have a long Time, to work into the main Body of it. I have in *July*, and in the Beginning of *August*, taken some of the Ice into the Ship, and cut it square 2 Foot, and put it into the Boat, where the Sun shone on it with a very strong Reflex about it. And notwithstanding the Warmth of the Ship ; for we kept a good Fire, and all our Breathings, and Motions, it would not melt in 8 or 10 Days.

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It was our Practice when we should be 2 Days together fast to a Piece of Ice, to set Marks on it, to see how it consum'd, but it yielded us small Hope of dissolving. We could not in that Time perceive any Diminution by the sinking of it, or otherwise. Nevertheless, I think that it is ruin'd with Storms, or consum'd with Heat some Years; or else the Bay would be choak'd up: But, I confess, these Secrets of Nature are past my Comprehension.

Being out of it, (but we yet saw it from off the Decks, to the Eastward) I order'd the Master to steer away N. and by E. keeping the Shoaling of the Western Shore.

The Eighteenth, at Noon, we were in Latitude 59. 30.

The 19th, we continu'd our Course betwixt the N. N. E. and the N. by E. and by Noon were in Lat. 61. 7. some 12 Leag. off the Shore. I order'd the Master, to shape his Course N. E. to look to that Place betwixt *Cary's Swans Nest*, and *Ne Ultra*.

The 20th, we were in Lat. 61. 45. This Day we saw some few Seals about the Ship.

The 21st, the Water shoal'd; so that we concluded we were near Land; but about Noon the Wind came up at N. E. directly opposite. We looff'd as near it as we could, and as it larg'd, we came to stand E. and E. and by N.

The 22d, we fell with the Land to the Westward of *Cary's Swans Nest*; where we had 40 Fath. 3 Leag. off. We stood in within a League of the Shore, into 13 Fath. and seeing the Land to the Southward of us, we compass'd about it, it being *Cary's Swans Nest*, which is in Latitude 52. 00.

All the 23d, we sail'd N. E. and for the most Part in Sight of Land.

The 24th, at Noon, by Judgment, we were in Lat. 69. 30. having sail'd a N. E. Course. All this Day was a very thick Fog, which about One o'Clock clear'd a little; so that I expected to see the Land. Some of our Men better sighted, spy'd it about 2 Leag. off. I knew it could be no other than *Nottingham* Island; tho' it were something contrary to the Expectation of our best Mariners. We stood into to make it. It was the N. End of it; and it bear off us, due E. I was soon assur'd of it; and I order'd the Master to shape his Course N. W. and by N. Both he and others were unwilling; but without much ado, submitted themselves: It was very foul thick Weather. The Reasons of my Resolution were these: The Time of the Year was far spent, and the Winter come upon us; therefore I would make the shortest Way, betwixt the Lands already discover'd. If I found an open Sea, I had my Desire, and then intended to proceed to the utmost of our Power; if I met with Land, I should then finish the Discovery; it being not above 15 Leag. from Land, to Land, and not above 10 Leag. from *Nottingham* Island, to the Main of the N. Shore. We made what Sail we could; it blowing a very stiff Gale of Wind till 8 in the Evening; then it began to blow fiercely: And we took in our Top-Sails, and stood under our two Courses and Bonnets. At 9, it blew a violent Storm at S. S. E. so that we took in our Fore-Sail, and let her drive N. W. All Night it continu'd an extraordinary Storm; that we heav'd the Lead every Half Watch: But the Ship drove so fast, that she would be past the Lead, before there were 20 Fath.

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Fath. of Line out, all the Night being exceeding cold withal.

The 25th, the Storm continu'd, and so perplex'd us, that there were but few that could sleep or eat for 24 Hours. About 6, in the Afternoon, the Storm began to abate, yet there blew a fierce Gale of Wind betwixt the S. and S. W. We stood W. N. W. and made a N. W. Way, when suddenly the Sea become very smooth. We reason'd thereupon among ourselves, what might be the Cause of it. We all thought it, to be the Leeward Tide; nothing doubting, what we afterwards encounter'd. The Ship had a very quick Way in this smooth Water.

The 26th, by 2 in the Morning, we were suddenly got among the Ice; and it pleas'd God, that the Moon, at that Instant, gave us so much Light, that we could see a little about us. We would have stay'd the Ship, but it was so thick to Windward, and so near us, that we durst not. We then bore up in this unexpected Accident; and I verily believe did not escape striking, the Length of a Foot, against the Ice as hard as Rocks, two or three Times; the Ship now having Way after 12 Leag. a Watch. Then we stood close by a Wind to the Eastward, expecting Day, that we might see about us. We could from Top Mast Head see the Ice to the N. N. W. the N. W. and so round about by the S. to the E. and some there was to the Leeward of us. It was all flat sound Ice, and the Sea as smooth as a Well among it. This struck us all into a Dump. Whereupon I call'd a Consultation of my Associates; namely, *Arthur Price*, Master; *William Clements*, Lieutenant; *John Whittered*, Master's Mate; *Nathaniel Bilson*, Chirurgion; and *John Palmer*, Boatswain; requiring them to

advise and counsel me, how to prosecute our Business to Effect. These all went together, and reason'd among themselves; and then brought me their Opinions in Writing, under their own Hands:

Viz. Our Advice is, that you repair Homeward, from this present 26th, and that for these Reasons. First, that the Nights are long, and so extreme cold withal, that we can hardly handle our Sails and Rigging. Secondly, the Times are now subject to stormy and gusty Weather, as witness the present Season; it having continu'd a Storm ever since the 24th, and doth yet continue, no Weather to discover in. Thirdly, We doubt, whether *Hudson's* Streights be so clear of Ice, that it may be passable in convenient Time; Winter coming on apace, before we are frozen up; seeing the Ice lies here all over the Sea. Fourthly, We must have fair Weather to pass the Streight, for which we may stay a long Time; if we neglect the first Opportunity. Fifthly, our Ship is so very leaky, that in foul Weather we are forc'd to pump every Glas; which is great Labour: Moreover, we know her to be so sorely bruis'd with Rocks, and Blows of the Ice, that she is no more to be adventur'd among it, but in saving our Lives Homewards: Besides all this, our Men grow very weak and sickly, with extreme Labour. Sixthly, The Season of the Year is so far spent, that we can expect no other Weather, than we have had, both lately and at present; that is to say, Snow and Fog, freezing our Rigging, and making every Thing so slippery, that a Man can scarce stand: And all this, with the Wind Southerly; which if it should come to the Northward; then we are to expect far worse. Seventhly and lastly, That the

the Ice lies all in thick Rands and Ranges, in the very Way we should go, as you and all Men here may see. And therefore we conclude, as aforesaid, That there is no Possibility of proceeding further; wherefore we here counsel you to return Homeward; hoping that God will give us a favourable Passage, to return to our native Country; if we take Time, and not tempt him too far, by our Wilfulness.

Indeed, most of these Difficulties were in View; and I could not reasonably oppose them, nor any Reason could I give for proceeding further: Wherefore, with a sorrowful Heart, God knows, I consented, that the Helm should be born up, and a Course shap'd for *England*; hoping, that His Majesty would graciously consider my Endeavours, and pardon my Return. And altho' we have not discover'd populous Kingdoms, and taken special Notice of their Magnificence, Power, Policy, &c. brought Samples Home of their Riches and Commodities; pry'd into the Mysteries of their Trade and Traffick; nor made any great Fight against the Enemies of God and our Nation; yet, I hope, our Willingness in these desert Parts may be acceptable to our Readers. When we bore up Helm, we were in Lat. 65. 30. at least, N. W. and by N. from *Nottingham Island*. Some were of Opinion, that we were further to the Northward; but by Reason it was by Judgment, I chuse to set down the lesser Distance.

The 27th, the Wind came up at N. W. with which we could not have gone on with our Design; that Wind made no great swelling Sea. By Noon, we were athwart of Cape *Charles*; so that we went in betwixt that Cape, and *Mill Islands*. The last Night it snow'd very much, and

was very cold ; so that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen, and all the Land cover'd with Snow. And here it will not be amiss to consider the Reasons of it : When I was upon *Charlton Island*, (our Wintering Place,) and in *June*, when the Snow was clearest off the Ground, I have in the Nights, and some of them following the hottest Days, observ'd, whether there fell any Dew or no ; but I could never perceive any, and from Moss and Sand, little I thought was to be expected. Now, of what was exhal'd from the snowy Ice, and cold Sea, could there probably be return'd but the like again. Generally, we continu'd on our Course, blinded with Fog and dirty Weather ; and that intermix'd with Snow and Frost among dispers'd Pieces of Ice ; many of them higher than our Top Mast Head.

With great Variety of Winds, we were also driven within 3 Leag. of both Shores ; so that the last of this Month, we were in the Narrow of the Streight, which is about 15 Leag. over ; the S. Shore was much pester'd with Ice.

September 1632. The 1st, and 2d, we endeavour'd to get on our Way. The 3d, in the Evening, as the Weather clear'd up ; we saw the S. End of the *Island of Resolution*.

These 3 Days and Nights had been extreme cold, with Fog and Frost ; insomuch, that our Men, in the Evening, could hardly take in our Top and Sprit Sails. We have sail'd thro' much mountainous Ice, far higher than the Top Mast Head. But this Day we sail'd by the highest that I ever yet saw ; which is incredible, indeed, to be related. Now as the Wind comes Easterly, we feel another Sea, out of the Ocean, and the Ship labours with another Motion, than she

she hath done with any that ever we observ'd to come out of the Westward.

From the 3d to the 8th, we had Variety of Winds, and were got clear out of the Streights; but were now come into such a tumbling Sea, the Weather dirty and windy, and by Intervals calm again, that the Ship did so labour and roll, that we thought verily she would have roll'd her Masts by the Board. This made her so leaky, that we were forc'd to pump every Glas; yea, her Seams so open'd aloft, that we lay all wet in her.

This was the last Day we saw any Ice. The Wind now favouring us, we made all the Haste we could Homeward. By the Way, having endeavour'd, observ'd, and experimented some Things in my unfortunate Voyage, I perfected my said Observations; which being afterwards commanded to publish; I here most submissively offer unto the judicious Reader.

What hath been long ago fabled by some *Portuguese* that should have come this Way out of the South Sea, the meer Shadows of whose mistaken Relations have come to us, I leave to be confuted by their own Vanity. These Hopes have stirr'd up, from Time to Time, the more active Spirits of this our Kingdom, to research that meerly imagin'd Passage. For my own Part, I give no Credit to them at all, and as little to the vicious and abusive Wits of later *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, who never speak of any Difficulties, as shoal Water, Ice, nor Sight of Land; but as if they had been brought Home in a Dream or Engine. And indeed their Discourses are found absurd; and the Maps, by which some of them have practis'd to deceive the World, meer Falsities; making Sea where there

there is known to be main Land, and Land where is nothing but Sea.

Most certain it is, that by the Industry of our own Nation, those Northern Parts of *America* have been discover'd, to the Latitude of 80 Degrees, and upwards. And it hath been so curiously done, the Labours of several Men being join'd together, that the main Land hath been both seen and search'd, and they have brought this suppos'd Passage to this Pass, that it must be to the N. of 66 Degrees of Latitude. A cold Climate, pester'd with Ice, and other Inconveniencies, and where the *Spaniards* Dispositions, and their weak Ships, can hardly endure it. And withal, it is known, that the Entrance of *Hudson's* Streights is but 15 Leag. broad; in the Middle not so much. And betwixt *Salisbury* Island, and the Main, it is but 8 Leag. Then proceeding to the Northward, towards the foremention'd Latitude, it is but 15 Leagues from Main to Main. This in Length, is about 140 Leag. as will more plainly appear by the Map, and infinitely pester'd with Ice, until *August*, and some Years not passable then, and I believe the Streight is never clear of Ice entirely.

Now it is most probable there is no Passage, for the following Reasons:

First, There is a constant Tide, Flood and Ebb, setting into *Hudson's* Streights; the Flood still coming from the Eastward; which as it proceeds, correspondent to the Distance, it alters his Time of full Sea. This also entering into Bays, and broken Ground, it becomes distracted, and reverses with Half Tides.

Secondly, Here are no small Fish, as Cod, &c. and very few great Ones, which are rarely to be seen. Nor are there any Bones of Whales, Sea-Horses,

Horses, or other great Fish, to be found on the Shore, nor any Drift Wood.

Thirdly, We found the Ice in the Lat. of 65. 30. to be lying all over the Sea in Rands; and I am most certain, that the Shoals and Shoal Bays are the Mother of it. Had there been any Ocean beyond it would have been broke all to Pieces; for so we found it coming thro' the Streight into the Sea, to the Eastward.

Fourthly, The Ice seeks his Way to the Eastward, and so drives out at *Hudson's Streight*; which I have often observ'd upon the *Island of Resolution*, and driving among the Ice in the Streight.

Admit there were a Passage, yet it is known, that is narrow, for 140 Leag. and infinitely pester'd with Ice, as every one has found, who has gone that Way. Comparing therefore some Observations taken at *Bantam*, *Gulolo*, and *Firando* in *Japan*; and the Distance betwixt *Japan* and the Western Part of *California*; with the Observations taken at *Charleton Island*, referring all to the Meridian of *London*, and then the Distance betwixt the Meridians of *Cape Charles*, and the Western Part of *California*, will be found to be about 500 Leag. in Lat. 66. 00. where yet the Meridians incline very much together.

To this may be added, that near about *Cape Charles*, the Variation is 29 Degrees to the W. which is a probable Argument, that there is much Land to the Westward; and that this Streight must be very long, and that you have no Time to pass it but in *August* and *September*, when the Nights are so long, and the Weather so cold, that it will not be durable.

Add to this: That neither can any great Ships, which are fit for carrying of Merchandize, endure

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dure the Ice, and other Inconveniencies, without extraordinary Danger.

Moreover, 1000 Leag. is sooner sail'd to the Southward, and about the Cape *de Bona Speranza*, where the Winds are constant, and that with Safety, than 100 in these Seas, where you must daily run the Hazard of losing Ship and Lives. Put hereunto, that Comfort for the Sick, or Refreshment for your Men, here is none to be had in these Quarters.

Towards the latter End of *August*, and in *September*, the Weather grows tempestuous, and the Winds incline to be Westerly, that there will be but small Hope of performing your Voyage this Way.

But let us, by Way of Imagination only, enlarge this Streight, in this Latitude, and free it of Ice, yet what Advantage, in speedy Performance, will be got by this Passage, if the Winds be withal consider'd? To *Japan*, *China*, and the Northern Parts of *Asia*, it may be the nearer Cut; but in Navigation, the farthest Way about is well known, in fewer Days to be perform'd, yea, with lesser Pains, and more Safety of Ship and Goods.

Again: To the *East Indies*, and other Parts, where we have the greatest Commerce and Employment of Shipping; the other Way is as near. What Benefit of Trade might have been obtain'd in those Northern Parts of *Asia*, I will not presume to speak of; holding that there is a great Difference betwixt those Parts, and the Northern Parts of *America*; whereas, I am sure, that there is none in any Place where I have been all this Voyage.

The

The 22d of *October*, we arriv'd in the Road of *Bristol*; having been hinder'd and cross'd with much contrary and tempestuous Winds and Weather. The Ship being brought into Harbour, and hal'd on dry Ground to look to her, it was found; that all her Cut-Water and Stern were torn and beaten away, together with 14 Foot of her Keel; much of her Sheathing cut away, her Bows broken and bruis'd, and much Timber crack'd aboard, and under the Starboard Bulge, a sharp Rock had cut thro' the Sheathing, the Plank, and an Inch and an Half into a Timber that it met withal. Many other Defects there were besides, so that it was miraculous how this Vessel could bring us Home again. Being all arriv'd, we went to Church, and gave God Thanks for his Preservation of us amidst so many Dangers. I very well know, that what I have here hastily written, will never discourage any noble Spirit, that is minded to bring this so long tryed Action to absolute Effect. And it is likely withal, that there be some, who have a better Understanding, and a surer Way of prosecuting of it, than myself have. To whose Designs, I wish a happy Success, and if they do but make a Review of what hath been done, and give more certain Celestial Observations, Hydrographical Descriptions, or exacter Practice in Navigation; it will be a most commendable Labour. For altho' I have spent some Years of my ripest Age, in procuring Intelligence from foreign Nations, and have travell'd with divers honourable and learned Personages of this Kingdom, for their Instructions; have bought up whatever I could find in Print, or Manuscript, and what Maps or Papers soever conducive to this Business, that possibly

sibly I could procure; and have serv'd voluntary besides; and spent some Time in rendering a Relation, since my coming Home, and expended withal of my own Monies, in my aforesaid Endeavours, and in furnishing of extraordinary Necessaries, above Five Hundred Pounds in Ready Money; yet I repent not, but take a great Deal of Comfort and Joy, that I am able to give an Account, in some reasonable Way, of those Parts of the World, which heretofore I was not so well satisfy'd in.





APPENDIX.

*The Names of the several Instruments,
I provided and bought for this Voyage.*



Quadrant of old season'd Pear-
Tree Wood, artificially made;
and with all Care possible divided
with Diagonals, even to Minutes.
It was of 4 Foot Semidiameter at
least.

An Equilateral Triangle of like Wood, whose
Radius was 5 Foot at least; and divided out of
Petiscus's Table of Tangents.

A Quadrant of 2 Foot Semidiameter of like
Wood; and with like Care projected.

The Sights, Centers, and every other Part of
them examin'd, and try'd with convenient Com-
passes,

passes, to see if they had been wrong'd or alter'd,
And this continually, before they were made use
of.

*Staves for taking Altitudes and Distances in
the Heavens.*

A Staff of 7 Foot long, whose Transom was
4 Foot, divided into equal Parts, by Way of
Diagonals, that all the Figures in a Radius of
10,000, might be taken out, actually.

Another of six Foot, near as convenient, and
in that Manner to be used.

Master Gunter's Cross-Staff.

Three Jacob's Staves, projected after a new
Manner; and truly divided out of the Table of
Tangents.

Two of Mr. Davis's Back-staves, with like
Care made and divided.

Of Horizontal Instruments.

Two Semicircles, 2 Foot Semidiameter, of
season'd Pear-Tree Wood, and divided with
Diagonals, to all possible Exactness.

Six Meridian Compasses, ingeniously made;
besides some Dozen of others more common.

Four Needles in square Boxes, of six Inches
Diameter; and other six, of three Inches Dia-
meter.

Moreover, four special Needles, (which my
good Friends Master Allen and Master Mar gave
me) of six Inches Diameter, and touch'd curi-
ously, with the best Loadstone in England.

A Loadstone to refresh any of these, if Oc-
casion were, whose Poles were mark'd, for Fear
of mistaking.

A Watch Clock, of six Inches Diameter, and another lesser Watch.

A Table every Day calculated, correspondent to the Latitude, according to Master *Gunter's* Directions in his Book; the better to keep our Time and Compass, to judge of our Course.

A Chest full of the best and choicest Mathematical Books, that could be got for Money in *England*; as likewise Master *Hackluyt*, and Master *Purchas*; and other Books of Journals and Histories.

Study Instruments of all Sorts.

I caus'd many small Glasses to be made, whose Part of Time I knew to a most insensible Thing, and so divided and appropriated the Log-line to them; making use of *Wilbrordus's* and *Snellius's* Numbers of Feet answering to a Degree, and approv'd of by Master *Gunter*.

I made a Meridian-line of 120 Yards long, with 6 Plumb-lines hanging in it; some of them being above 30 Foot high, and the Weights hung in a Hole in the Ground to avoid Wind. And this to take the Sun or Moon's coming to the Meridian. This Line we verified, by setting it by the Pole itself, and by many other Ways.

Two Pair of curious Globes, made purposefully; the Workman being earnestly affected to this Voyage.

This was the Manner that we took the Variation of the Compass, and that as often as conveniently we could, but divers of the Tables, by the Negligence of my Boy, are lost; but these, I hope, may suffice to give Satisfaction of our Care in Navigation. *July 13. 1631.*

These 13 Azimuths, with the Altitude and Declination, were taken upon a great Piece of
K Ice,

Ice, with 3 Needles together; then the Declination was not equated, the last three set forth by themselves proves the rest; viz. the Azimuth of West, with his Variation; the Azimuth at due West; and the Variation by the Altitude and Azimuth at due West.

These were taken 20 Leag. to the Eastward of *Salisbury* Island; and 2 Quadrants, one of 4, another of 2 Foot Semidiameter; a Semicircle 2 Foot Semidiam. Lat. 63 : 01. Decl. 20 : 14.

<i>Sun's Alt.</i>	<i>Azim.</i>	<i>F.</i>	<i>T. Azim.F.</i>	<i>Variation.</i>
39 42	77 50	S	50 11 S	27 39
35 33	90 00		62 12 S	27 48
34 24	76 30	N	65 07 S	27 23
31 24	80 18	N	72 12 S	27 30
30 57	78 53	N	73 21 S	27 46
29 00	74 50	N	77 28 S	27 42
27 10	71 00	N	98 42 N	27 42
25 52	68 28	N	96 02 N	27 34
25 00	66 40	N	94 16 N	27 36
24 00	64 50	N	92 16 N	27 26
23 30	64 00	N	91 18 N	27 44
22 50	27 35	N	89 58 N	27 33
22 30	61 24	N	89 18 N	27 44

The mean Variation is 27 36

The Variation of the Altitude and Azimuth of West. 27 33

The Variation of the Azimuth of West. 27 48

The Variation by Azimuth at due West. 27 35

The Mean of these three is 27 38

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July 22. 1631. These three Azimuths and Altitudes were taken upon a Piece of Ice, the Magnetical Azimuths by the Sun's Shade in the Water, the Air thick of Fog, that the Sun gave no perfect Shade otherways, 10 Leag. West from Mansfield Island. Lat. 60. 33. Decl. 18. 25.

Sun's Alt.	Azim.	F.	T. Azim.	F.	Variation.
34 06	90 00	S	64 34	S	25 26
31 34	84 48	N	70 08	S	25 04
18 25	71 35	N	82 54	N	25 21

The Mean is 25 17

July 24. 1631. These 11 Azimuths were taken upon a Piece of Ice about the Middle of the great Bay; some of them by the Shade, and some by the Sight of the Sun in the Water, the Weather being thick of Fog. Latitude 59. 20. Decl. 17. 40.

Sun's Alt.	Azim.	F.	T. Azim.	F.	Variation.
36 44	82 50	S	59 04	S	22 46
35 44	83 40	S	61 18	S	22 22
33 02	90 00		67 14	S	22 46
29 49	84 25	N	73 40	S	21 55
27 25	79 50	N	75 10	S	22 00
26 27	78 10	N	87 14	S	22 14
23 48	72 35	N	84 38	S	22 47
21 16	68 47	N	88 38	S	22 35
20 40	67 30	N	90 00		22 30
20 10	67 00	N	89 00	N	22 12
19 34	66 00	N	88 10	N	22 10

The Mean is 22 : 23 21

July 31. 1631. These several Azimuths were taken upon a Piece of Ice, 50 Leag. off the Western Shore: Lat. 58. 43. 43. Decl. 15. 43. 43.

Sun's Alt.	Azim.	F.	T. Azim.	F.	Variation,
24 00	76 26	N	99 20	N	22 54
23 35	76 00	N	98 38	N	22 38
22 50	75 00	N	97 18	N	22 18
22 05	73 40	N	96 04	N	22 24
20 32	71 20	N	93 32	N	22 12
18 40	67 55	N	90 24	N	22 29
18 30	67 30	N	90 02	N	22 32

The Mean is 22 : 29 : 34.

August 1, 1631. These several Azimuths were taken upon a Piece of Ice, about 40 Leag. off the Western Shore: Lat. 58. 45. Decl. 15. 25.

Sun's Alt.	Azim.	F.	T. Azim.	F.	Variat,
26 34	83 05	N	104 36	N	21 31
25 26	81 25	N	103 06	N	21 41
24 26	78 38	N	100 42	N	22 04
22 30	75 16	N	97 22	N	22 06
21 31	73 50	N	95 42	N	21 52
20 10	71 27	N	93 24	N	21 57
18 42	68 40	N	90 58	N	22 18
18 07	67 25	N	89 56	N	22 31

The Mean is 22 : 00.

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Aug. 5. 1631. These Azimuths were taken upon a Piece of Ice, and calculated by all the Figures of the Canon about 40 Leag. off the Western Shore : Lat. 58. 37. Decl. 14. 12.

<i>Sun's Alt.</i>	<i>Azim.</i>	<i>F.</i>	<i>T. Azim.</i>	<i>F.</i>	<i>Variat.</i>
23 14	79 12	N	101 02	N	21 50
22 11	76 40	N	99 12	N	22 32
21 11	75 11	N	97 28	N	22 17
20 00	73 02	N	95 48	N	22 46
18 59	71 24	N	93 47	N	22 23
17 15	68 35	N	90 53	N	22 18
16 42	67 28	N	90 00		22 32
15 39	65 32	N	88 18	N	22 46

The Mean is 22 : 25 : 30.

These Observations were taken the 10th of November 1631. the Lat. 52. 03. the Difference may be conceiv'd to grow by Reason of the Sun's low Altitude and Refraction. The others about the Summer Solstice, where Difference of Meridians is avoided, and are more exact.

<i>Sun's Alt.</i>	<i>Azimuth.</i>	<i>T. Azim.</i>	<i>Variat. W.</i>
G. M.	G. M.	G. M.	G. M.
14 25	42 25	26 11	16 14
14 00	45 25	27 30	17 55
13 15	47 25	29 54	17 31
12 18	48 10	32 33	15 37
12 03	49 20	33 16	16 04
11 41	51 07	34 15	16 52
10 57	53 25	36 04	17 21
9 42	55 25	38 58	16 27
9 15	57 45	40 00	17 14
8 50	58 37	40 52	17 45

The Mean is 16 : 57 West.



*Master Gellibrand's Observations
touching Longitude.*



ATITUDE and Longitude are two primary Affections of the Earth, by the Help of these two doth the Geographer strive to represent the the Parts of the Earth that they may keep Symmetry and Harmony with the Whole. Latitude then is an Arch of the Meridian, comprehended between the Æquator and a Parallel; but Longitude is an Arch of the Æquator, intercepted by the prime Meridian, and the Meridian of a Place, the Difference of Longitudes being the Difference of two Meridians. The Measure of the former is the Meridian, the Æquator of this latter. For the exact Settling of Latitudes we have many and absolute Helps, so that the Error, if any happen, ought to be imputed to the imperfect Handling of the Artist. But the Longitude of a Meridian is that which hath, and still wearieth, the greatest Masters of Geography: Nevertheless, hath not the wise Creator left Man unfurnish'd of many excellent Helps to attain his Desire: For, besides Eclipses, especially of the Moon, (whose Leisure we must often wait, and perhaps go without, if the Heavens be not propitious to us) we have the Concourse of quick pac'd inferior

rior Planets, with superior slow ones, or their Appulses with some fix'd Star of known Place, or else some other Artifice deriv'd from their Motions and Positions. As for the Magnetical Needle to argue a Longitude from its Variation, is altogether without Ground. And though well furnish'd Seamen are able by their dead Reckonings, as they term them, to determine the Difference of Meridians somewhat near; yet by Reason of the unknown Quantity of a Degree in a given Measure, which is the Rule of the Ship's Way, Varieties of adverse Winds, different Sets of Tides, and other involv'd Incumbrances, they come often wide of the Mark they aim at. The best Way yet known to the World, is that which is deduc'd from the Celestial Appearances, which being perform'd by judicious Artists, may, in a short Time, rectify our Geographical and Hydrographical Charts hitherto in most Places foully distorted. It is my Intent here, to give an Instance from two several Observations drawn from the Celestial Bodies, by the Author of this Discourse, in his Discovery for the N.W. at the Bottom of the Bay, being his Wintering Place, and call'd by the Name of *Charlton*, which for Judgment, Circumspection and Exactness may compare with most; the first from the Eclipse of the Moon; the second from the Moon's Mediation of Heaven, or her coming to the Plane of his Meridian of *Charlton*.

The Captain then mindful of the Lunar Eclipse which was to happen, *Octob. 29. 1631.* was waiting on the Moon with his Instruments, but by Reason of the Interposition of the Clouds, could make no Observation on the Beginning of her Obscuration, but at her Emerision or Total Recovery

covery of Light, the Heavens being more serene, he took the Altitude of the superior Limb of the Moon 29 Gr. 11 M. the Lat. of *Charlton* being 52 Gr. 3 Min.

At that very Time, myself with some Friends found the exact Time of the Moon's Emerfion at *London*, in *Gresham College* (by a Quadrant of 6 Foot Radius, actually cut to each Minute of the Quadrant) to be *Octob.* 29. 13 H. 7 Min. 28 Sec. or *Octob.* the 30th Day at One of the Clock, seven Minutes, and about a Half in the Morning.

Now, because the Tables of the Celestial Motions, lately publish'd by that most learned and industrious *Lansberg*, do much amuse the World with that lofty Title of Perpetuity, it will not be amifs to enquire after the Time of the Captain's Observation from them, that so by comparing the one with the other, we may obtain the Difference of Meridians, which is the Matter now fought after.

The Middle Motions of the Luminaries answerable to the equal Time of the Emerfion of the Moon, are these which follow:

The Middle Motion of the Sun, 3 Sex. 47 Gr. 39 Min. 26 Sec.

The Middle Motion of the Center of the Sun, 3 Sex. 15 Gr. 49 Min. 58 Sec.

The Middle Motion of the Apogeum of the Sun, 1 Sex. 35 Gr. 45 Min. 44 Sec.

The Middle Motion of the Longitude of the Moon, 2 Sex. 59 Gr. 29 Min. 1 Sec.

The Middle Motion of the Anomaly of the Moon, 5 Gr. 11 Min. 30 Sec.

The Middle Motion of the Latitude of the Moon, 4 Sex. 32 Gr. 8 Min. 15 Sec.

The

The Prosthaphæresis of the Æquinox, 12 Minutes, 30 Sec.

Being thus furnish'd with these Middle Motions, we are next to enquire for the true Places of the Luminaries, and their Concomitants, as their Right Ascensions, the Declination, Latitude, Semidiameter, Parallax, and Refraction of the Moon, that so the true Altitude of the Moon's Center, and consequently the Time of the Emerfion may be had at *Charlton*.

For the Sun's true Place.

	<i>Sex. Gr. M. S.</i>
The Middle Motion of the Sun's Center.	3 15 49 58
The Prosthaphæresis of the Center added.	0 1 37 0
The Proportional Scruples, 1.	
The Middle Motion of the Sun's Apogæum	1 35 45 44
The true Motion of the Apogæum subſtracted	1 37 22 44
The Middle Motion of the Sun is	3 47 39 26
The Anomaly of the Sun's Orb	2 10 16 42
The Prosthaphæresis of the Sun's Orb	0 1 32 43
The Exceſs to be added	0 0 0 20
The absolute Prosthaphæresis of the Sun's Orb ſubſtracted	0 1 33 3
The Middle Motion of the Sun from the true Æquinox	3 47 51 56
The true Motion of the Sun from the true Æquinox	3 46 18 53
Therefore the Sun's true Place was in \cap	0 16 18 53
And his Right Aſcenſion	2 23 49 53
	<i>For</i>

For the Moon's true Place.

Sex.Gr.M.S.

The Anomaly of the Moon's Center	5 59 18 2
The Prosthaphæresis of the Moon's Center	0 0 5 36
The Proportional Scruples 0.	
The Anomaly of the Moon's Orb	0 5 11 30
The Equated Anomaly of the Moon's Orb	0 5 5 54
The Prosthaphæresis of the Moon's Orb subtracted	0 0 24 4
The Middle Motion of the Longitude of the Moon from the Sun	2 59 39 1
The true Motion of the Moon's Long. from the Sun	2 59 14 57
The Middle Motion of the Sun from the true Æquinox	3 47 51 56
The true Motion of the Moon from the true Æquinox	0 47 6 53
Therefore the Moon's true Place was in ☾	0 17 6 53

For the Moon's Latitude.

The Middle Motion of the Moon's Latitude	4 32 8 15
The Moon's absolute Prosthaphæresis of her Orb subtracted	0 0 24 4
The Moon's true Motion of Latitude	4 31 44 11
The Moon's Northern Lat. was	0 0 9 5
And her Reductive Scruples subtracted	0 0 0 26
	But

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Sex. Gr. M. S.

But the Moon's true Motion in her proper Orb was	0 17 6 53
Therefore the Moon's true Place reduc'd to the Ecliptick ☿	17 6 27
And because the North Latitude of the Moon was	0 9 5
Thereforefore will her Right Af- cension be	44 35 10
And her Declination	17 7 49
And because we have the Distance of the Moon from the Earth in Semidiameters of the Earth	64 15
Therefore shall the Moon's appa- rent Semidiameter be	0 15
And her Parallax of Altitude	0 47 0
Now because the Altitude of the Limb of the Moon was found by Observation to be	29 11
If we shall substract her Semidia- meter	0 15
And the Refraction	0 2
We have the apparent Altitude of the Moon's Center	28 54
To this if we add the Parallax of Altitude	0 47
We shall have the true Altitude of the Moon's Center	29 41

Having thus the Latitude of the Place,
the Moon's true Altitude with her Declination,
by the Resolution of a Spherical Triangle, ac-
cording to the Eleventh Problem, Lib. II. Part
II. of our *British Trigonometry*, we have the Di-
stance of the Moon from the Meridian, 63 26

And

And by comparing this Arch with the Difference of the Ascensions of the Luminaries, the Time of the Moon's total Recovery of her Light at *Charlton* will be 7 Hours, 49 min. 28 sec.

Which subtract from the Time of the Emer-
sion at *London*, 13 h. 7 min. 28 sec.

The Difference of Meridians in Respect of Time will be 5 h. 18 min. 0 sec.

So that *Charlton* is remov'd from *London* West-
wards, 79 deg. 30 min.

This may likewise be confirm'd by a second different Observation made at the Instant of the Moon's Culmination or Mediation of Heaven, at which Time the Altitude of the brightest Star in the Asterism of the Northern Crown, (being of the second Magnitude) was found to be 33 deg. 27 min. Easterly, June 23. 1632.

It may be problematically deliver'd after this Manner.

Having the Latitude of a Place, with the Altitude of a known fix'd Star, at the Moment of the Moment's Culmination, to find the Longitude.

This fix'd Star is of known Longitude and Latitude; therefore was his Declination 27:59 and Right Ascension 229:46. Now by the Resolution of a Spherical Triangle of three known Sides we have the Distance of this Star from the Meridian, and by Consequence the Right Ascension of the Moon, whence we conclude her Culmination to be with the 28 deg. 10 min. of vs, but the Moon's true Place was much less. Here note, that the Scrupulosity of Time is unknown, and therefore we cannot argue the Moon's true Place from thence, tho' I grant it might be evinced, for that were to beg the Question, and to know that first, which we look after,

In

In the next Place, we are to enquire, with what Point of the Ecliptick, the Moon culminated with us here at *London*, that so from the Difference of her Places, of the like Affection, we may deduce the Difference of Meridians.

Observation on the Moon's Culmination here at *London*, we made none, therefore must we have Recourse to the aforesaid Tables of *Lansberg*, and from thence calculate the same. Now because the Moon was not far remov'd from the Sun's opposite Point. It will not be amiss to enquire first the Moon's Place at Midnight.

	<i>Sex. Gr. M. S.</i>
The Sun's opposite Place at Midnight in \vee s	0 11 18 15
The Moon's true Place at Midnight reduc'd to the Ecliptick was in \vee s	0 23 33 18
The South Latitude of the Moon was	0 4 56 38
Therefore the Difference of Ascensions will be	14 6 0
The Diurnal Motion of the Moon	14 24 0
Therefore the Moon's proper Motion answerable to the Difference of Ascensions is	0 33 50
Which added to the Moon's true Place at Midnight	23 33 18
Gives us the Moon's true Place reduc'd to the Ecliptick at her Culmination at <i>London</i>	24 7 8

Now because the Sun's Southern Latitude was 4: 56 : 38. the Arch therefore of the Ecliptick comprehended between the Moon's true Place and the culminating Point of the Ecliptick will trigono-

trigonometrically be found to be 54 min. 38 sec. which added to the Sun's true Place before found gives us the culminating Point of the Ecliptick, 25 deg. 1 min. 46 sec. which is less than that found at *Charlton*; The Difference being 3 deg. 8 min. 24 sec. therefore is the Place of Observation Westerly of *London*. Having therefore the Sun's Diurnal Motion, and the Difference of the culminating Points, we conclude the Meridian of *Charlton* to be distant from this of *London*, 5 h. 14 min. of Time, or 78 : 30 of the Equator.

The Difference between that of the Eclipse, and this latter Observation is only four Minutes of Time, or one Degree, a Difference easily pardon'd, especially if we shall compare the same with some other Places, yea even such as border nearly on each other. To give an Instance of two eminent Places which lie in the Heart of *Europe*, *Rome* and *Norimberg*; Their Difference of Long. *Regiomontanus* makes 36; *Werner* 32; *Appian* 34; *Mestlin* and *Origan* 33; *Stofler* 18; *Maginus* 26; *Schoner* 12; *Mercator* and *Hondius* as much; *Stadius* 13; *Jansonius* 10; *Longomontanus* 16; *Lansberg* 10; *Kepler* by two Observations on two Lunar Eclipses, but four Minutes of Time.

This Variety among these great Artists, will I hope pardon us this Difference of four Min. and be a Means to encourage our *English* Seamen and others, to make such or the like Observations in Foreign Parts, as the Heavens shall offer unto them.

H. GELLIBRAND.

F I N I S.

A Plan of the Harbour & City of Cartagena

- A. the City of Cartagena & Suburbs
 a. Notre Dame de la Popa
 b. Fort St. Lazaro
 c. Fort Manzaniilla
 d. Fort St. Cruz
 e. Fort St. Joseph
 f. Fort of Bocha Chica
 g. ----- St. Philip
 h. ----- St. Jago

Sal. Medina



P. Harrison Delin.

A Scale of Miles





le of Miles.

1045 2/8

A N

AUTHENTICK and PARTICULAR

ACCOUNT

Of the TAKING of

CARTHAGENA

BY THE

FRENCH,

In the Year 1697.

Containing

An exact Relation of that Expedition, (in all its Circumstances) from their first Setting out, to their Return to *Brest*; wherein are describ'd their several Engagements with the *English* Fleets, in their Passage home.

By the *SIEUR POINTIS*,
Commander in Chief.

WITH A

PREFACE, giving an Account of the Original of *CARTHAGENA* in 1532, to the present Time; also an Account of the Climate and Product of that Place, and the Country adjacent.

*" In 1585 it was sack'd by the Valour of a few English, under
" the Command of Sir Francis Drake (in a Reign when the
" Publick Good and Honour of England was the Chief Business
" at Court) and our Land enrich'd with the Spoils of our proud
" Enemies, who were humbled by the Conduct of our Fleet abroad,
" and our Naval Applications at home."* See Pref. p. 2.

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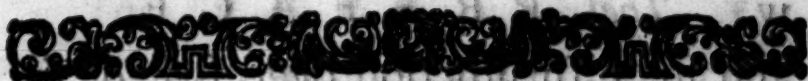
WITH A
PREFACE, giving an Account of the Original of CAR-
THAGENA in 1535, to the present Time; also an
Account of the Climate and Product of that Place, and
the Country adjacent.

" In 1582 it was taken by the Viceroy of a few English, under
" the Command of Sir Francis Drake (in a Reign when the
" British Good and Honour of England was the chief thing)
" at Court) and was held several years the State of our grand
" Honour, and was handed by the Count of St. Paul, who
" and the Naval application at home."

The second Edition.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

TH E City of *Carthagena*, in the *West-Indies* (which now gives Title to a considerable Government of the same Name, and is reckoned a Province of *New Granada*; or, according to some Writers, of *New Andaluxia*; but by others, is annex'd to the *Golden Castile*) was begun to be built in the Year 1532, by *Peter de Heredia*, and was finished by *Georgio Robledo*, about eight Years after the Foundation was laid.

The Situation of its Port was found so convenient for the *Spanish Fleets*, and such Quantities of rich Merchandize were brought down near to it, by the Confluence of the great Rivers of *Santa Martha* and the *Magdalena*, that the Town encreased in Wealth, Number of People, stately Edifices,

iv *The* P R E F A C E.

and in a Jurisdiction over five or six petty Cities, till in the Year 1585, it was sack'd by the Valour of a few *English*, under the Command of Sir *Francis Drake* (in a Reign, when the *Publick Good and Honour of England* was the chief Business at Court) and our Land enrich'd with the Spoils of our proud *Enemies*; who were humbled by the Conduct of our Fleets abroad, and our Naval Applications at home.

But this City of *Carthagena* received a greater Blow (before it was perfectly repaired) from five Privateers, led on by a disgusted *Spaniard*, who burnt the Place to Ashes, after they had surprized the Governor asleep, and seized a mighty Treasure: Yet, for all this, it raised its Head again, numbered above twenty thousand Inhabitants (whereof four thousand were *Spaniards*, the rest *Mesticoes* and Slaves) and improved daily in Riches and Magnificence, till taken by the *French* from *Brest*, and the *Buccaniers* from

The P R E F A C E. v

Petit Guaves, who severally plunder'd it; as is particularly related by Monsieur *De Pointis*.

Into such a fatal Stupidity are a certain People (by Nature brave, formerly Conquerors and Heroes) of late degenerated, either from the ill Influences of their State, or Church, or both; that now they fall a Prey to every Invader, and even to Privateers and Vagabonds: The Causes whereof are too manifest, and own'd by a judicious and honest Writer of their own Country, whose Sense I shall here deliver.

‘ Unreasonable Taxes are multiplied
‘ and entailed upon the *Spaniards*,
‘ under Pretence of making good Deficiencies and Funds of Interests: The
‘ Treasury grown monstrous, either by
‘ obstructing or diverting the Publick
‘ Aliment, and by contracting new
‘ Debts: The *Grandeess* themselves
‘ conspire to cheat in their several
‘ Stations, in order to advance or
‘ support their own Extravagancies:
‘ The

vi *The* P R E F A C E.

‘ The Court Officers, Gabellers, and
‘ such Swarms of mercenary Vermin
‘ are innumerable, draining the very
‘ Blood of the People : The standing
‘ Forces upon Free Quarter, the Ship-
‘ ping neglected, the Garrisons and
‘ Magazines very ill supplied, most of
‘ the Governors and Men in Trust
‘ like so many Vultures) griping what-
‘ ever comes within the Catch of their
‘ Talons. Trade is discouraged by
‘ seemingly advantageous Loans, by
‘ high Customs, Indulto’s, and other
‘ Imposts. The Church is overgrown
‘ with Revenues, Inquisitions, and
‘ Dominion ; all which have contri-
‘ buted to impoverish and dispirit the
‘ Mass of the Body Politick, and to
‘ reduce it into the Figure we now
‘ behold it in, all over Rickets, with
‘ large Heads and whither’d Limbs,
‘ for want of a proportionable Circu-
‘ lation, and a due Administration.’

These Chronical Distempers in the
Spanish Governments in Europe, have
infected the rest in *America*, where
their

their Weakness is discovered upon all Occasions. Indeed Monsieur *De Poin-
tis*, carried twenty Times the Force that Sir *Francis Drake*, or the Privateers after him, did; yet considering the *Spaniards* had frequent and very early Intelligence of the French Preparations, and of their Arrival in the *West Indies*, methinks their Defence was very languid, and scarce credible to one unacquainted with their present Constitution, which will produce the like Symptoms and bad Effects in any other Nation, that has the Misfortune to suck in the same Contagions.

But to return to *Carthagena*, whose Territory is related to be very fruitful, only a little too moist by the violent and frequent Rains.

The Journals of Sir *Francis Drake's* Voyages commend the Plenty and Variety of Fruits found there; Oranges, Citrons, Limes, Guavo's, some Spices and Balsams, especially a Sort of long Pepper, and the Tolu, mentioned by *Carolus Clusius*, *Franciscus Ximenes*,
MA John

viii *The* P R E F A C E

John de Laet, Margrave, Hernandes,
and others, are brought from the ad-
jacent Parts in great Quantities. Gold
is washed down by the Torrents from
the Mountains, where some precious
Stones are found. In a Word, the
Country is much the same with the
neighbouring Isthmus of *Darien*, which
has been so well described by Mr.
Ringrose, Monsieur *Raveneau de Lus-*
san, and more lately by Captain
Dampier, and Mr. *Waser*, that nothing
more need be said here of this Part
of the *Terra Firma*.



Monfieur *DE POINTI*'s
A C C O U N T
 O F H I S
E X P E D I T I O N
 T O
C A R T H A G E N A,
 In the Year, 1697.

THE Design I had long since form'd, of a Naval Expedition, that might be both honourable and advantageous, was put off from time to time by intervening Accidents, although Mons. *Pontchartrain* had receiv'd his Majesty's Approbation of the Project I had the Honour to present him; and had, likewise, obtained the Ships, Men, and Ammunitions, which I propos'd to take with me.

But at length, the laying up of the Fleet, brought by Count *Chateau Renault* from *Toulon*, leaving all the Marine, in a manner, idle; and the Measures I had taken with Treasurer General *Vanolles*, seeming to promise a sufficient Fund for the Expence, there appeared no farther Obstacles to the Execution of this Enterprize.

B

Hereupon

Hereupon we proposed our Design to the Publick; which was so generally lik'd, and People were so forward to bring in their Money, that *Vanolles* was not able to receive it fast enough; insomuch, that he fancy'd he should be forced to refuse several Persons, by Reason we had agreed upon the Sum, and resolv'd not to exceed it.

But the Face of Affairs became soon altered; for the Peace being concluded with *Savoy*, made it hop'd, that it would suddenly be attended with a General One: And 'twas believed, that if the War should be at an End, before I was under Sail, I should be ordered to the contrary; and so the Money employ'd upon our Armament, would be infallibly lost. And now People were so far from offering new Sums, that those who had already engaged in the Design, would have been very willing to have withdrawn their Contributions.

I could not inform every Body, that Count *Maurepas*, who was acquainted with the Particulars of our Project, had engaged *Monsieur Pontchartrain*, to ask his Majesty, what should be done with our Armament, in Case the Peace should be agreed upon? And that his Majesty was pleased to Answer, that I might go on with it; for, if the Peace should be concluded, he would take Care to re-imburse the Adventurers. And we were assured of this Favour, by an express Article inserted in the Margin of the Minutes of the Marine Council, that was held upon this Matter: Nevertheless, many Persons considering, that the best which could happen, would be to receive their Money again, chose rather to keep it in their Purses.

And besides this Prejudice, the ill Success of some Attempts that preceded mine, and from which great Matters were expected, discouraged the Publick more than the Appearance of an approaching Peace.

By

Expedition to Carthagena.

3

By this means we were obliged to proceed upon the Fund that was already advanced, which was much inferior to what I had proposed ; and this compelled me to lessen our Preparations, and consequently weaken the Armament. However, being determined to go thorough with my Undertaking, I resolved to make use of the Advantages which the Court was pleased to confer on me, in allowing me such considerable Succours. So I returned to *Brest* in the beginning of *October*, 1696 ; and to Work we went, with all imaginable Diligence, to fit out our Fleet : But the bad Weather hindered our Careening ; so that we could not get out of *Brest*, but lay in that Road 'till the 6th of *January* ; from whence my Project was to have sailed the beginning of the preceeding *November*.

To add to our Misfortune, I was at that time not able to take the Opportunity of a fair Wind that then offered ; because I staid for a great Convoy of Arms and Provision, that were laden for me at *Rochel*, without which I could not proceed ; I had continually expected it for three Months. In the midst of these Perplexities, I understood they were at last arrived at *Port Lewis*, where they were forced to put in, to avoid a Squadron of the Enemy, that had for some time cruised upon that Coast, and had them in Sight. By this, I found our Naval Preparation upon the very point of miscarrying ; our Provisions were already much diminished, and the Appearance very great, that the Enemy's Squadron would remain there, and we utterly consume our Provisions in the Road of *Brest* : Upon which I fix'd my Resolution ; which although it seemed very hazardous, was yet the only Method that the Posture of my Affairs would permit me to take : It was to find out my Convoy, and even to disengage them at the hazard of a Battle : Now, altho'

I should have the best of it, yet it could not be without a mighty Inconveniency to me ; but I flattered my self, that possibly I might not be discovered by the Enemy ; or, in case of meeting with them, get indifferently well off, and refit at *Port Lewis*, and then try to get out ; and happen what would, by whatsoever way it should be my Fate to be lost, I had rather have been ruin'd with our Arms in our Hands, than miscarry for want of Resolution, and in a shameful Abode there.

Accordingly I had given my Orders to sail the next Day ; at which Time I understood by Signals from *Ushant*, that they described a very large Fleet. We knew very well, by several Accounts that there were about Forty *English* Men of War abroad, with Orders to cruize before *Brest*, and by all manner of Means to prevent my Passage, by which my Departure seem'd impossible, my Enterprize defeated, and my Misfortune unavoidable. However, I propos'd other Matters to myself and kept to my first Resolution, not thinking my Condition much worse for this News : The little way between *Brest* and *Port-Lewis*, or the Entrance into the River *Morbihan*, of which I had taken particular Care to inform myself, that I might secure my Retreat into it, gave me some Hopes to believe, that I might probably get in thither, before I should be too deeply engag'd in a Battle ; and then having once got on Board what the Convoy had brought me, I might by the Favour of the long Nights, get away, without being seen by the Enemy, or at the worst Escape a small Danger in a running Fight. So this great Fleet did no more alter my Circumstances, than if it had been a small Squadron ; against which, in the Juncture I was in, the Hazard of fighting was as dangerous as with a capital Fleet, my Care being to get away, and prosecute the Business

Expedition to Carthage.

5

ness of my Project. Besides, if I could get a little before the Enemies, there was no great an Appearance for them either to come easily up with me, or that they would be in Condition to pursue me for two thousand Leagues that I might lead them: I had, Moreover, the Opportunity of separating my Ships in the Night, by ordering them different Courses to the appointed Rendezvous.

The Governor of *Ushant* sent an Express to assure me, That he could discern forty Men of War, amongst which were five *English* or *Dutch* Flags: I received this News at Midnight, and making Use of it in a Manner quite different to the Opinion of them that sent it me, I made the sailing Signal, and was under Sail by that Time it was Day, it being upon the Seventh of *January*, 1697. I had some Days before, sent my Orders to the Vessels at *Port Lewis*, to come away immediately, running all Hazards to join me; but to keep so near the Shoar, that the Enemies Ships might not dare to approach them, or to avoid their Cannon by running into the Ports that are upon that Coast; which are good enough to cover such small Vessels, as I expected from the Danger of Cruisers. I had sent the *Mutine* Frigate, and the *Providence* Brigantine, to convoy them who expected them at *Pennemarc Point*.

We were hardly got out of the *Goulet* when she saw the Fleet appear at *Point Raz*, with the small Convoy I had sent to them; whereupon I came immediately to an Anchor at *Bertheaume*, where I made all the haste I could to get our Provisions on Board our Ships and Fly-boats, and by extraordinary Diligence, I was in a Condition of sailing the next Day.

We were hardly got into the Course, when the *Scepter* struck upon a Place, where, according to the Rules of Navigation, there could be no Manner of Danger; after having struck three Times very violently

lently, we thought she was just upon sinking, especially when we saw a great many Planks floating upon the Water; at the same Time we perceiv'd her to float, and running immediately to the Pumps, we found she did not make one Drop of Water. We could not tell what to think of this Accident, however, it was concluded, that it could not be a Rock she had struck upon, but upon some sunk Vessel that floated under Water, which being less strong than the *Scepter*, had occasioned us that Alarm by the breaking of her Planks, without any ways prejudicing the *Scepter*. We continued our Course, endeavouring to avoid the Enemies: I had so regulated myself to the Tides, as to be, by the Beginning of the Night, at *Pennemarc Point*; besides there was no great Probability I should be discovered in sailing so little a way, especially by Reason of our holding so near the Coast. I resolved at the same Time to steer directly from *Pennemarc* to the Coast of *Spain*, which I designed to leave to the *Southward*. This Course, so contrary to what is customarily taken, to get clear of the Land, which the Enemies must know I designed; and upon which, most probably, they formed their Method of Cruising, was the most likely Expedient to deceive them. This had the desired Effect, and the Wind continuing favourable, I first made *Cape Ortegal*, and afterwards continued my Course toward the Island of *St. Domingo*, where I arrived in fifty-five Days; during which there happened nothing remarkable, unless it was, that having passed the Tropick, we met with *West-South-West* Winds, and consequently contrary, which is not usual.

The Pleasure of arriving at *Cape Francis*, which was that Part of *St. Domingo* that I came to, was mitigated by several Accidents. I understood there that Capt. *Desaugets*, who commanded three Ships

Expedition to Carthagenia.

7

in those Seas, for whom I had Orders to join with my Squadron, was eight Days before my Arrival fail'd upon his Return to *France*. I was there likewise inform'd by Monsr. *Daunou*, Lieutenant-Governor of the Island, that the Succours which Monsr. *Du Casse*, Governor of the Coast had prepared for me, consisted in about four hundred Men, altho' he had Orders to join me with the Strength of the whole Colony.

It is true, that by good Fortune all the Pyrates of those Parts, which are usually called *Buccaniers*, were met together at that Time; It was thought that I might find a Party of them; but it was no ways to be imagin'd, that I should find them all; for they go out and come in as they please; consequently, this Assistance could not be computed at 14 or 1500 Men, as I was made to believe I should find at *St. Domingo*, neither did they exceed 600. So I was near upon a thousand Men short of my Account.

The Departure of Capt. *Desaugets* depriv'd me of a like Number of Men, and two great Ships. Moreover, I was fallen short of two great Ships, and several Frigates, specified in my first Project, by which Means I found myself reduc'd to half the Force I propos'd at the Beginning.

I did not think fit to come to an Anchor at the Cape, but left there three Frigates, the *Mutine*, the *Avenant*, and the *Marin*, to take in such Forces as might be drawn from thence, and the fresh Provisions which Commissary *Du Tilluel* was to supply my Squadron with.

S. Vandrille, Commander of the *Marin*, that was sent two Months before I left *France*, with Orders for Monsr. *Du Casse* to have the Forces ready that were appointed for my assistance, after he had carried his Dispatches to *Petit Guaves*, failed for the Cape, and attended me there,

In

In his Passage from *France* to *St. Domingo*, he was attacked by an *English* Ship of 54 Guns, who notwithstanding her Superiority, was forced to retire with Shame, after a Fight of several Hours.

Desaugets going for the *Honduras*, before he returned to *France*, had ordered the Chevalier *De la Motte d'Heran*, on Board the *Christ*, taken from the *Spaniards*, to sail directly for *France*, with the *Favorite* Frigate, whom I found at the Cape upon his Departure. These two Ships were both mann'd with the *Favorite's* Crew only, consequently very weak Men of War; wherefore I resolved to make use of but one of them, to put all the Men into her, and leave the other Ship at *Petit Guaves*. By Virtue of the King's Letter, which I had to *Desaugets*, and his Squadron, I ordered *La Motte d'Heran* to join me; which he did, and chose the *Christ* that he commanded.

About Eight a Clock, upon the Sixth of *March* I came to an Anchor over-against *Exter*, the usual Residence of *Monf. Du Casse*; who came immediately on Board, to advise with me about the shipping of the Men he was to bring me; and seeing that I did not dissemble neither my Surprise, nor my Trouble at the small Number of Men he had provided for me; he protested that he had done all he could, and continually endeavoured to make me have a great Opinion of the good Success of this Attempt; for that the *Buccaniers* were at that Juncture all together, and would every Man of 'em perform Wonders. We agreed that he should go to *Petit Guaves*, and that I would be ready by that time it was Day, to get into the Port: *Du Casse* came thither to join me, having a Design on Foot which I did not imagine; I brought him the Duplicate of the Order which he had received from *St. Vandrille*, which he did not read when I delivered it to him, by reason it was wrote in Cyphers. There was

Expedition to Carthagena. 9

was added in that Letter, without my Knowledge, that he was to contrive the Means of succeeding in an Attempt that was approved by his Majesty, without damaging the Colony: This Restriction did in some Measure deprive me of the Power of commanding his Forces, seeing he had an Opportunity of pretending to keep them for the Preservation of his Colony. He said, that he would not insist upon Terms with me, as being perswaded that I would have a regard to his Character. I replied, That the greatest Character he could pretend to, was that of being Captain of a Ship, which he had the Honour to command by his Commission; all that I could do, was, that he should serve in that Capacity, according to his Seniority, which did submit him to several others, who nevertheless, would not pretend to concern themselves with the Forces of his Government; in Relation to whom, I should address myself to him; that he was to accept this Proposition, or not to embark with me, for I had no Orders to compel him.

After refusing these Offers he left me; and thinking no more of him, I was surprized to hear, that he took all imaginable Care for what was personally necessary to him in this Expedition; and that he reported, he would rather come on board as a private Soldier, than not engage in so glorious an Affair. He shewed much Courage and Desire of Glory in his Discourse, and it is Pity, that he afterwards discover'd his Resolution to proceed from Motives and Interests something less generous.

In the mean Time we employ'd ourselves in getting of Water, Wood, and other Things necessary for the Squadron, and to fit up the Vessels of the *Buccaniers*, which were all unrigg'd; without the Help of the Rigging and Cordage, that I ordered to be delivered them by my Squadron, it would have been impossible for them to put to Sea; we

likewise distributed the Provisions there, which I had brought for the Forces that were to embark with me; in short, we prepared all things for our Departure. It was then necessary to regulate the Pretensions of the *Buccaniers*, who desired to be assured of their Shares of the expected Prizes.

These Free-booters are, for the most Part, compos'd of those that desert from Ships that come upon the Coast: The Advantage they bring to the Governors, protects them against the Prosecution of the Law; besides, all those that are apprehended in *France*, as Vagabonds, or such as can give no Account of themselves, are sent to these Islands, where they are oblig'd to serve for three Years. The first that gets them, obliges them to work in the Plantations; at the End of the Term of Servitude, some Body lends them a Gun, and to Sea they go a *Buccaniering*. This Profession hath maintained itself a long while by this Sort of Recruits, and subsists by their Piracies; they were formerly altogether independent, but of late Years they have been reduced under the Government of the Coast of *St. Domingo*; they have Commissions given them, for which they pay the Tenth of all Prizes, and are now called the King's Subjects: For the Governors of *St. Domingo* being enrich'd by them, do mightily extol them for the Damages they do to the *Spaniards*, and endeavour to have it believed that the *Buccaniers* are the Strength and Support of the Colony; whereas, they are in Effect the Ruin of it: For if such as are convey'd thither, were kept from the Liberty of embracing this infamous Profession, which an Impunity for all sorts of Crimes renders so much beloved, we should not have lost, in a few Years, above six thousand Men, that might have improved and peopled the Colony. And thus indeed they would have been truly the Strength and Support of the Place.

Expedition to Carthagena. I I

As to their Matters, altho' they are pleased to be counted the King's Subjects, yet it is with so much Arrogance, as obliges all those that are desirous to make use of them, to court them in the most flattering Terms. This not being agreeable to my Disposition, and being they were in the Dominions of his Majesty, and esteeming them as his Subjects, which the Governor was obliged to deliver to me ; I plainly told them, that they should find me a Commander to lead them on, but not as a Companion of their Fortune ; that if they made any Difficulties, either to embark or obey, I would certainly burn all their Vessels, even to the poorest Boats, and inevitably deprive them of the Means for some Years, if not for ever, of continuing their Depredations.

It was fear'd, that upon these Threats they would betake themselves to the Woods, as being their usual Retreat upon any Dissatisfaction : But I knew they apprehended very much the Execution of my Menaces ; and moreover, that the Governor, who is so highly concerned in their Piracies, would omit no sort of Care to retain them in their Duty.

The Demand they made, of having their Share in the Division of the Prizes secured to them, was very reasonable ; therefore I explained myself in Writing, and caused it to be fixed up in several Places, implying, *That they should, Man for Man, have the same Shares of Booty, that were allowed to the Men on Board the King's Ships.*

I was informed of their Customs, and that of divers Ways of dividing the Shares, (which is commonly a very troublesome Business) ; the most usual Method was this, by reckoning by the Number of the Men ; for Example : A Vessel of a hundred Men, hath double the Allowance that is made to another of but Fifty, so the rest in Proportion. I made no manner of Delay in the Choice I was to

make ; as likewise to acquaint them, that I could not meddle with any thing that belonged to the King, the Admiral, and the Undertakers of the Armament. That his Majesty had been pleased to allow to the several Ships Companies, the Tenth of the First Million, and a Thirtieth Part of all the others : And I engaged myself in Writing to give the *Buccaniers* the same Terms. *Du Casse* told me, that I had taken the easiest Method, desiring me only to leave with him the Original of that Writing, including the Frigate *Pontchartrain*, commanded by Lieutenant *Mornay*, who desired to serve in the Squadron upon the same Conditions that I had granted to the *Buccaniers* : There was likewise comprehended, at the Desire of *Du Casse*, a Frigate of *St. Malo*, fitted both for War and Traffick. We shall have Occasion to mention this Writing again, in the Sequel of our Story.

Upon the Eighteenth, all the Ships that I had left at *Cape Francis*, having join'd my Squadron with *La Motte d'Heran*, whom I had likewise ordered to join me ; I made ready on the Nineteenth to go and anchor at *Cape Tiburon*, being the furthest Western Point of *St. Domingo* ; the Water there is better and easier to be got, than in any other Place, so it was absolutely necessary for me to touch there ; besides, I was very desirous to get out of Port, to oblige the *Buccaniers* to come on Board, which they ever defer to the last Moment ; however, they at last got on Board, seeing me at some Distance, and followed the Squadron, as also the *Pontchartrain*, which *Du Casse* had chosen for himself ; when on a sudden, a violent North-wind, which is very extraordinary, and rarely known in this Season, scattered not only the *Buccaniers*, but likewise all the Ships of my Squadron, insomuch that I continued alone for above thirty Hours, two Chaloups sent from the *Scepter*,

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to the Assistance of two *Buccaniers* in danger of stranding, not being able to get up with me ; but good Weather coming on, we all met upon the 28th in the Road of *Irois*, three Leagues distant from *Cape Tiburon*.

Until then I had kept my Design secret, not being wholly determined on the Matter : *Du Cassé*, who understood by his Letters from Court, that the principal Design of the Expedition was upon *Carthagenæ*, did judge the Execution impossible, by Reason of the several Accidents already mention'd, and the small Number of Forces with me. He represented unto me, with much Appearance of Reason, that according to the last Advices from the *Indian Coasts*, the Galleons must be at *Porto Bello*, or upon their Way to *Carthagenæ*, in order to their Return for *Spain* ; that we might reasonably hope to meet with them by steering that Course ; and that by our Strength we might reckon ourselves secure of them, altho' we found them in *Porto Bello*, for notwithstanding the Port is defended by three Castles, yet it is open enough for us to get in, and possess ourselves of those Castles, by Means of our Bombs. But I had my Reasons not to follow this Opinion : The Galleons might as well be at *Carthagenæ* as at Sea, and I was sensible, by my own Experience, how uncertain 'tis to meet Ships at Sea, a Thing not to be depended upon ; moreover, it seemed plain to me, that the less the *Spaniards* were in a Condition to defend themselves at *Porto Bello*, the less Reason I had to hope for an Advantage by their Defeat, otherwise than in the Honour I might gain ; for they would certainly have burnt, or sunk, their Ships, upon the Approach of such a Squadron as I had the Honour to command, and that Treasure, not lost to them, must have been absolutely so to me, since I could not possibly have continued long enough there, to get it out of the Water. These

These Considerations absolutely dissuaded me from going first of all to *Porto Bello*, which Voyage would have spent my Provisions, and render'd me incapable of any other considerable Attempt. *Vera Cruz* was a more likely Place ; for we were well assured, that one of the Flotas had been there ever since the Beginning of *September*, and that they could not go away before the Beginning of *May*, therefore I could not miss meeting with them ; moreover, my Forces were sufficient to make me Master of the City, which may be entred without our being expos'd to the Fire of the Castle, which is impregnable by its advantageous Situation : It is built on a Rock, in the middle of the Sea, and surrounded on all Sides with extraordinary Fortifications. However, with my great Store of Artillery, I could, in a very little Time have reduced that Castle to Ashes ; besides the Bombs that I could have used from my Ships, I might have rais'd what Batteries of Cannon and Mortars I pleas'd on Shoar, which is not above two hundred Yards from it.

I should not have run the Risque here as I must have done at *Porto Bello*, of seeing the *Spaniards* burn the Ships to deprive me of their Silver : For it being well known they do embark the Plate there, but a very few Days before the Departure of the Flota, consequently, at the worst, I could only have lost the Merchandizes, of which I made little Account. In short, 'tis probable, I should have engag'd in this Expedition, had I not received some Advices at *St. Domingo*, that occasioned me new Perplexities, viz. That tho' the Plate was not used to be embark'd until the Day before the Fleet sail'd, and was brought from *Mexico* to *Vera Cruz*, long before it was put on Board ; yet of late Years, upon some Jealousies, they bring it no farther than *Pueblo de los Angelos*, forty Leagues up the Country, from

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from whence 'tis conveyed directly on Board the Flota.

According to the Rules of Navigation, which 'tis not necessary to insert here, the Flota could not sail till the Month of *May*; yet they might not come away even until the Month of *August*; so if they had not by Chance taken the Resolution of coming away with the first of the Season, it being then but *March*, and we not above three Weeks sail from them, I did foresee that our Design would be ruin'd by my Arrival before the Plate was brought down, and I was no ways in a Condition of marching forty Leagues, with such a small Body of Forces, in an Enemy's, and well-inhabited Country. Moreover I was not willing to begin with a Place that should have frustrated my farther Intentions, in case I had been unsuccessful: For such is the Nature of the Gulph of *Mexico*, at the Bottom whereof *Vera Cruz* is situated, that at our coming out again, it would not be possible for us to entertain any other Thoughts, but those of returning to *Europe*, as well because of the Length of the Voyage, as because the Winds and the Setting of the Currents, would have prevented all other Attempts to the Eastward.

The only Place I could fix my Resolutions upon, was *Carthagena*, which lay to windward; and altho' I should have missed my Aim there, yet it would not have been any Obstacle to my other Designs; not even against *Vera Cruz*, unless I consumed my Time by adventurously falling upon the first Place, without a well-grounded Assurance of carrying it: The small Number of my Forces, was the only Thing that could dissuade me from this Attempt; but this Want of Strength, might be remedied by good Management.

Capt. *Venner*, an *Englishman*, having been several Years in the Service of the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*,

dies, and commanded several of their Ships, was lately come into the Service of *France*, and was placed on Board *Desfaugets*, until some other Employ should be given him. This Officer was very well acquainted with the Coasts and Places of the *West-Indies*; he had likewise some Knowledge of Geometry, and by the Assistance of *Canette*, my principal Engineer, I got him to draw several Plans, especially that of *Carthagera*, which we found to be as exact as any Thing could be expected that was made by Memory.

My first Design was to have immediately landed with five thousand Men, near *Carthagera*, not including the Seamen. I expected to have drawn these Forces from the Places before-mentioned, with which I reckoned I should be able to force the Place, tho' besides its ordinary Defence, the whole Strength of the Galleons should have been in it. But I was all Manner of Ways very much mistaken in my Account, scarce having one half of the Forces I propos'd, with which there was no Probability of taking a Place so famous in *India*, and so well known in *Europe*, for its Fortifications, which I found to be even better than they were reputed to be. The Ships were to anchor in the open Sea, and by that means must have been expos'd to all the Inconveniences of the bad Season, which was not quite over; besides, I might have been surpriz'd by the *English* Squadron, which I knew had Orders to follow me. In this case there was no likelihood for me to expect any Service from the Seamen, it being altogether necessary to leave them on Board to work the Ships in bad Weather; but then again, having only the Land-Forces to re-embark, I might, upon any Occasion, soon put myself into a Posture of Defence.

Then I imagin'd, that if instead of attacking *Carthagera*, I only attempted *Bocca chica*, which defends the Entrance into that vast Harbour, called the

Expedition to Carthagena. 17

the *Lagune* of *Carthagena*, and should carry that Fort, the rest would be easily acquired, by reason I might bring my Ships under the Protection of this Fort, and thereby make use of the Seamen that might then be spared from the Ships, which would in some Measure make up the Want of Land-Forces.

However, this Design had its Difficulties likewise : For the Passage which this Fort defends, is so narrow and winding, that there's no sailing through it, but you must warp your Ships along by their Anchors and Cables ; now two Ships riding within, can prevent this Work, and alone defend the Entrance against the strongest Fleet : I could not imagine, but that the *Spaniards* would use that Precaution, in case the Galleons had been at *Carthagena*.

On the other Hand, if I could make a Descent on any other Part of the Island, at one End of which stands *Carthagena*, at the other *Bocca chica*, I might probably surmount all Difficulties, by expeditiously landing of my Cannon ; with which crossing the Island, and raising of Batteries on the Banks of the *Tagon*, I knew very well, I could either sink, or force away any Ships that should be posted to defend the Entrance : As to the Fort, I did no ways doubt the taking of it with the Help of my Bombs, in spite of any Succours the Enemy might bring to it by Land.

Being once in Possession of *Bocca chica*, I had several Reasons for good Hopes, in case the Galleons were not there, that I should, by the Help of the Seamen (which I might take when the Ships were secur'd) be enabled to attempt *Carthagena* ; and if the Galleons were there, then I propos'd to attack them ; and in case they should resolve to sink themselves, then I should be able so to terrify the Place with my Bombs, that they would yield to a Contribution that might reimburse my Undertakers ; and

from thence I could afterwards steer to some other Leeward Place.

After I had duly weighed these Matters, I absolutely resolved upon sailing to *Carthagena*, and I published my Resolution; which was applauded and received with all Marks of Satisfaction from the Soldiers. *Du Casse* propos'd the sending away two Frigates of *Buccaniers*, to precede me, which should land in the Night near *Carthagena*, to take what Prisoners they could make, and carry them to *Sambee*, twelve Leagues to Windward of *Carthagena*, and there expect our Coming. Capt. *Pierre*, and Capt. *Blou*, were instantly commanded to sail upon this Design; but instead of executing these Orders, the Desire of Pillaging, according to their usual Custom, engaged them to chase some small Vessels they met, which they had not the Courage to board after they had driven them aground; and this occasioned them to lose so much Time, that without having been at *Carthagena*, they arrived after me at *Sambee*, where a sudden Gust from the North-East, called here a Breeze, had forced me to come to an Anchor, and wait for better Weather to appear before *Carthagena* in.

On the thirteenth, the Wind being abated, we got under Sail, and directed our Course for *Carthagena*. The whole Fleet was composed of these Ships: Seven Frigates from eight to twenty four Guns, on board them about six hundred and fifty *Buccaniers*. One hundred and ten Inhabitants of *St. Domingo*, one hundred and seventy Garrison Soldiers of the Coast, and one hundred and eighty Negroes, were dispersed on board the Men of War, and Flyboats belonging to the Squadron. This was all the Assistance which I received from the Government of *St. Domingo*.

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Expedition to Carthagera. 19

The *Pontchartrain*, and the *French Frigate* were join'd to us as before mentioned ; the one having forty Guns, and one hundred Men ; the other twenty four Guns, and sixty Men.

The Squadron was compos'd of seven great Ships.

The *Scepter*, carrying eighty four Guns, and six hundred and fifty Men, commanded by *Guillotin* : I was on board this Ship.

The *St. Lewis* of sixty four Guns, and four hundred and twenty Men, commanded by *Levy*, who acted as Vice-Admiral.

The *Fort* of seventy Guns, and four hundred and fifty Men, commanded by the Viscount *Coetlogon*, who served as Rear Admiral.

The *Vermandois*, *Apollo Furieux*, and *St. Michael*, all four of sixty Guns each, and three hundred and fifty Men, were commanded by *Dubuisson Gombaud*, *La Motte Michel*, and the *Chevalier de Marolles*.

The *Christ*, a *Spanish Prize*, commanded by the *Chevalier de la Motte d'Heran*, of two hundred and twenty Men, and forty four Guns.

The *Avenant*, by the *Chevalier Francine*, two hundred Men, and thirty Guns.

The *Marin*, commanded by *St. Vandrille*, had one hundred and eighty Men, and twenty eight Guns.

The *Eclatant*, Bomb-Vessel, comanded by *De-Mons*, had sixty Men.

The *Providence*, Brigantine, of thirty Men, and four Guns, commanded by the *Chevalier De L'Escout*.

Two Flyboats.

Four Boats, call'd by the *French Traversier*, who had each of them one Gun, and a Mortar.

On board these Ships, and Vessels, were one hundred and ten Officers, fifty five Guards Marine, two thousand one hundred Sea-men, one thousand seven hundred and fifty Soldiers, effective Men.

Before I left the Road of *Irois*, or Cape *Tiburon*, which is the same Place, I had regulated the Descent, and the manner of employing our Forces.

The Captains of the Men of War, viz. those that effectually were so, (but not all those who commanded for such, as did several Galliot-Captains, and some Men of War Lieutenants) were to serve as General-Officers, dividing themselves according to their Seniority, to be alternately ashore and on board; for it was absolutely necessary to have some of them always in Command on board the Ships. *Du Casse* had the Command of all the *Buccaniers*, and Inhabitants of the Coast, whom I left to him, under their ancient Captains.

By Order of the Court, there was a State Major, compos'd of *Sorel*, Inspector-General of the Marine Troops of *Britany*. The Desire of serving in this Expedition, induc'd him likewise to take upon him the Function of Major-General; but taking place only as Captain of *Thebut*, Major; of two Aid-Majors-Generals, who were the Chevaliers *Faucornu* and *De Pointis*; a Sub-Major-General, *Berandin*; and some Guards Marine, as Sub-Majors:

Of *Du Tilleul*, Commissary.

One principal Engineer, and another, viz. *Cannette* and *Tangey*, for whom were compos'd two Brigades of Officers, or Guards-Marine, as also some Volontier-Soldiers, that were in some measure thought capable of serving as Engineers. The Chevalier *de Ferriere*, *du Crest*, and *Coursy*, were the chief of these Brigades; the Chevaliers *de Nesmond*, and *Pouilermont*, Ensigns. *La Land du Ches*, and *Rochebonne*, Guards-Marine, chose to serve as Aids de Camps under me.

Expedition to Carthagena. 21

Six Battalions were compos'd of the Soldiers on board the King's Ships; the first was a Body of two hundred and fifty Grenadiers, drawn out of all the rest commanded, by *La Roche de Vigier*, Capt. of a Frigate, but then serving as second Captain on board the *Scepter*, commanded, I say, by him, as Colonel; *le Chevaliers de Vexins*, Lieutenant of a Man of War, as Lieutenant Colonel; *Vaujaux* serv'd as Major; *St. Lazare d' Aide*; *Framine*, *Montrusier*, and *Vignancourt*, had the Command of the five Companies that made this Battalion.

The five Senior Lieutenants of Infantry Marine, commanded as Colonels in the five other Battalions of three hundred Men each; who were the Chevalier *Marolles*, *le Chenau*, *de Bresne*, *Simonet*; the Guards-Marine were divided among them to augment the Number of Officers. Besides these, I made Detachments of four hundred Seamen, under their own Officers, all arm'd with Scythes and Pistols; upon occasion, these were to be commanded by Lieutenants of Ships, that had no Companies, who were *de Vaulx*, *Languejoue*, *Carcavy*, *Siglas*, and *Sabran*; these were to be reliev'd by five Captains of Fireships that were on board our Squadron.

The one hundred and seventy Soldiers drawn out of the Garrisons on the Coast of *St. Domingo*, were in a separate Body, and commanded by *Beaumont*. The one hundred and ten Inhabitants, and the one hundred and eighty Negroes, made each of them another. The *Buccaniers* were all in one Troop.

The Plans, and Memoirs, which I had of several Places, of whose Errors I have much reason to complain, were nevertheless true in one Point: For they gave me a plain Assurance, that if we did not seize at our Arrival at *Carthagena*, upon a considerable Eminence, and a Church called *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*, that commands the Avenues, all the
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Treasure would be carried off, the greatest Part being in Gold and Emeralds, easily to be transported up into the Country ; which the *Spaniards* would not fail to do, upon the Approach of such a formidable Fleet.

To get Possession of this Post, I resolved to land the *Buccaniers* the Night after my coming to an Anchor, they being very proper for such an Attempt, as being accustomed to marching and subsisting in the Woods, where each of them carries his own Provisions, and lives upon what he kills ; so I was informed at least : Thus not being encumbered with any Baggage, their March might be kept secret, their Irruption unexpected, and in case of Necessity, their Retreat secure by Ways unpassable to others. I had concerted with *Du Cassé* all things relating to this Design, which he undertook to see executed : We agreed upon the Signals he should make me by Fires from the Hills, to acquaint me whether he wanted any Assistance, or Vessels to re-embark his Men ; or upon Taking of the Post, whether he was in a Condition of maintaining it or not. On my Part, I was to inform him by Signals from the Ships of my Condition, and the Resolution which various Accidents might oblige me to take.

Having concluded upon this Method of executing our Design, we arriv'd between *Cartagena* and Point *Hicacos*, four Leagues to the Eastward, where finding good Anchorage in a great Bay, which the Land makes by running out to the Southward, we came to an Anchor about Four a Clock, two Leagues from the City, on the same Day, being the Thirteenth. The Squadron was got ready in the Morning at *Sambee*, and I deliver'd all my Orders by Signals : By this Diligence I was sure to make a secure Descent, it not being possible that

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Expedition to Carthagena. 23

an Enemy could be able to guard all the Shoar, or march down time enough to hinder our landing.

So soon as the Ships were come to an Anchor, I made the Signal for the Chaloups (that were to land the *Buccaniers*) to go on board their Frigats, so soon as it was dark, and to them to be in Readiness for the Boats, altho' it was resolved they should not embark till Midnight, to the End they might be ashoar some Hours only before Daylight.

In the mean Time, the *Fort*, the *Mutine*, and the Bomb-Vessel, according to their Orders, were advanc'd towards the City ; the last near enough to bombard, and the other two to guard her. I expected, by thus employing of the Enemy with my Bombs, to divert them from taking other necessary Precautions.

When the *Buccaniers* were to be embarked, in order to their landing, they did not behave themselves so heroically as *Du Casse* had boasted of them : For this Separation from the King's Forces afforded them a Prospect of the dreadfulest Dangers ; they began to apprehend the Want of Provisions in the Woods, where they were used to subsist many Days, when they were only to rob and cut People's Throats sleeping, whereas now they were to march against a People that stood on their Defence ; yet to take away one of their Pretences that covered their Fear, we delivered them Provision, and the Major-General, after much stirring, got them at last into the Boats.

All was in a Readiness for the Descent, when I fortunately resolved to visit the Shoar, for the most proper Place of landing : One would not have thought that in a great Bay, sheltered from the Winds that usually reign upon this Coast, where Ships find a good Anchorage, and the Sea calm, it should be impossible to get ashoar ; but scarce were
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we come to it, when the Waves breaking upon the Rocks even with the Water, did but little miss of filling my Canoe quite full of Water at once: *Levy*, *Du Casse*, and *Tilluel* were with me. We rowed down the Strand towards *Carthagena*, in Hopes of finding some proper Place; but there the Sea ran higher than from whence we came; and when we were fall'n so low, that it was not possible to proceed farther without engaging ourselves among several little Lakes that from this Part water all the Territories of *Carthagena*, our Canoe came athwart a Sea that filled her half full of Water; and now, in all Probability, our Enterprize, as yet not begun, was likely to end in a Goal: But *Levy* leaping into the Water, and by his Example encouraging the Seamen, that followed him, to use their utmost Efforts, we at length got our Canoe afloat, that had struck on the Rock, and delivered ourselves from that imminent Danger. Our first Care was, by the other Canoes of the Major's, to dispatch Orders to the Chaloups, not to come near the Shoar; where, embarrass'd by a great Number of People on board them, and being every Way larger, drawing more Water, and not so well provided with Rowers as my Canoe was, their Ruin must have been inevitable.

We were then, notwithstanding all our Draughts and Memoirs, oblig'd to agree, that *Carthagena* was inaccessible on this Side: For if in so calm a Day, the Sea was so boisterous as we found it, what were we to expect in other Weather? In short, the Stay we made in this Country, had shewn us by Experience, as well as inform'd us by the Relations of the Inhabitants, that the Sea upon all this Coast, and in all Seasons, is a natural invincible Rampart; and that *Carthagena* is approachable only by the Lake, which makes the Harbour.

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I reflected with Concern on this disastrous Adventure ; I foresaw, that in not being able to possess myself of that considerable Post of *Nostre dame de la Pouppe*, I should afford the *Spaniards* an Opportunity of several Days to carry off whatsoever they were desirous to save, by Reason I could not be able to come at them, until I had taken the Fort of *Bocca chica*.

Being wholly bent upon *Bocca chica*, the Fleet got in a Readiness of sailing the Morning on the Fourteenth. We designed to pass so nigh the Walls of *Carthagena*, as to do them all the Mischief my Guns could afford them ; but notwithstanding my utmost Care to provide all Things necessary for every Vessel of the *Buccaniers*, who have the Reputation of knowing this Coast ; we found them so very ignorant, and so much at a Loss, that we durst not attempt any Thing upon the small Informations that we could get from them ; so we resolved to take the surest Precautions possible, by ordering the Chaloups to sound before us. The *Scepter* not finding Water enough, could not come within Shot of the Town ; the *Lewis* and the *Fort* that drew less, even touched in several Places. However, that did not hinder them from firing, until I made them a Signal to join the Fleet. The Enemy made no great Fire, yet we perceived they had great Pieces, and good Store of them : To our Admiration, we observed, that *Carthagena* was inclosed only on this Side with Pallisadoes, and old Walls that were in many Places fallen down ; whereupon we founded our Projects and Hope of a lucky Event ; not knowing that Nature had sufficiently provided for the Security of this Part, by the great Violence of the Sea that washes it : I touch'd twice, and came not this Night to an Anchor before *Bocca chica*, being desirous first to inform myself of all the Soundings ; but came to an Anchor so soon as we found a

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proper Depth. We understood afterwards, that the Place we had been in all Day, was about eight Years since a Plain, where the People of *Cartagena* used to walk.

I sent away the Chaloups, to sound the Coast even up to the Fort. I ordered *St. Vandrille* on Board the *Marine* to an Anchor over-against the Entrance, that so he might prevent any Boats from carrying off Advice or Silver to *Porto Bello*. All the Officers and Pilots, that had been out to sound, assured me, that there was every where Water enough, even to twenty Fathom, and near the Shore; and the Coast jetting out to the Southward, had formed near the Fort, a Sort of a Haven secure from the Violence of the Sea, which ran too high every where else for a Descent; and a small Neck of Land, or Promontory, did likewise protect us from the Fire of the Fort; whereupon it was resolved to come to an Anchor there, by the Break of Day, next Morning, being the Fifteenth, and to take our Anchoring Births, according to the Disposition of the Place.

All the Fleet were at an Anchor on the Fifteenth at Noon: I immediately dispatched away Major *Tbesut*, to observe what Part of the Shore was most proper for a Descent. Upon his Return, I made the Signal for landing, and ordered *Du Casse* to take eighty Negroes that were on Board the *Furieux*, to embark on Board the *Pereagoes*, which are a very light Vessel, and therefore in no Danger of stranding; with these I ordered him to make up to *Cartagena*, and to come very near the Shore, in two or three Places, without endeavouring to land, but only to draw out the Enemies, if there were any, and by that Means oblige them to discover what they were; and if there was no Appearance of any, he was to inform me of it by a Signal: The Woods lie close to the Sea-shore, where the Spaniards might have kept themselves concealed, and discharged

Expedition to Carthagena. 27

ged upon us without appearing, which oblig'd me to this Precaution ; but *Du Casse* finding no such Matter, landed with his Negroes, and hoisted the white Flag upon a Rock. This acquainted me that he was landed : The Chaloups immediately made to Shoar, and the Descent was made without any Opposition. The Negroes were forthwith employed with their Bills and Hatchets, to make a Way thro' the Wood to the Lake, on the other Side of the Island, where we designed to encamp, and make our Approaches to the Fort, the Ground on this Side towards the open Sea, not being so proper ; besides it was necessary to cut off their Communication with *Carthagena* by Land. The Island which is but narrow at the Point where the Fort is situated, is but a Quarter of a League from the Sea to the Lake, at the Place our Negroes were cutting, within half Cannon Shot of the Fort, from which we were covered by the Woods : The Way was made in a very little Time, so that all our Troops were ranged quite cross the Island, making Places of Arms in the several Paths of the Wood that lead to *Carthagena*. By this Means we were soon posted, and the Places of Arms, or *Corps du Garde*, were near enough to speak to each other.

While we were thus setting ourselves Ashore, the *Lewis* made a little more out, and began to Cannonade the Fort ; sometime afterwards, the *Fort* Man of War doing the same, as likewise the *Scepter*, that followed at a little Distance, the Battery began to be very warm, the Bomb-Galliot, and the *Traversier* with one Mortar, having taken their Stations, played their Parts very well, which continued until Night. The Enemy made a very slow Fire, which did not occasion us much Damage, only our Yards and Rigging suffered a little, and three Men were killed or wounded.

In our Approach to the Lake, we had a little crooked the Way leading towards the Fort, to the End we might fall directly in with a little Plain, which (the People of *St. Domingo* brought hither for our Guides, told us) lay between the Lake, the Wood, and the Fort ; so we came out at the Foot of a rising Ground, that was high and large enough to cover us, and from whence we had the Liberty of examining the Fort, which is not above Musquet-shot from it : We lodged ourselves here, expecting the Approach of Night, to examine the Ditch, and where it was proper, to open the Trenches, by cutting down a Part of the Wood, which we perceived to be much nearer to the Fort, than the Way we had cut : So soon as it was dark, the Major-General, and *Canette*, slipped away to make the Tour of the Place, upon the Bank of the Ditch ; which they did without being discovered : *Levy*, *Faucourt*, and I, being without Design insensibly advanced into the Wood, until we perceived ourselves near to the Ditch, we were desirous to examine it. The Obscurity, and great Stillness of the Night, favoured our Attempt ; we met the Major-General and *Canette* who had been round ; our Meeting happened to occasion some little Noise, upon which the Centinels fired, and we returned, sounding the Ground ; which being proper for the Work, confirmed us in the Opinion of opening the Trench in that Part of the Wood which I said was nearest to the Fort ; besides, a little Fen being between the Eminency and the Fort, did deprive us of the Conveniency of carrying on our Work on that Side.

Upon the sixteenth in the Morning, we began to make our Fascines, Gabions, and to get our Artillery on Shore, which we wanted ; one of the Mortars being brought ashore in the Night, when one of those great *Pereagoes*, that are much used in
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Expedition to Carthagena. 29

the *West Indies*, and big enough to carry sixty Men, came gently sailing on to *Bocachica* under the Shore, which she did not imagine to be in our Possession ; but being perceived by our Grenadiers there, they resolutely took their Opportunity, without waiting for Orders, and fir'd so thick into her, that at the first Discharge they killed and wounded fifteen or sixteen Men, seven or eight more, being perfectly scared, leaped into the Water and were drowned, the rest throwing themselves into the Bottom of the *Pereagoe*, she lay floating on the Water, until some of our Negroes launching off a little Boat, that was by chance there, made to her and brought her ashore. Besides the killed and wounded, there was eight and twenty Men in her, among whom were two *Franciscan* Friars, one of which had received a small Hurt in his Arm : By these Prisoners I was inform'd, that the Galleons were at *Porto Bello*, of which I had no certain Account since my coming out. They had been there ever since the End of *October*, and were expected every Moment at *Carthagena* ; their Stay at *Porto Bello* having been, contrary to all the Rules of Commerce, much longer than usual.

I made use of one of these Friars to represent unto the Governor (whom I designed to summon) the Insignificancy of his Defence, against such unequal Forces : I multiplied them in the Eyes of the Friar, by drawing forth all the Troops into the Wood ; and whilst they amused him, I made some of them file off through the By-ways, and advance themselves beyond those he had seen ; the Ammunition, and Train of Artillery were shewed him ; insomuch that if the Matter had depended on him only, the Fort would have been surrendered at that very instant : However, he made use of all his Eloquence to the Governor ; to whom he carried from me very honourable Proposals. He answered, by

by my Drummer, that he was not reduced to the Condition of Capitulating ; but when he was, he would be willing to accept of the Offers I had made him : Moreover, he charged the *Franciscan* in particular, with many Civilities to me.

The *Fort* Man of War returned to her Station to batter the Fort ; but the Bullets that flew over it, falling into a Quarter of the Camp, that we designed not to quit, I sent her Orders not to retire, and to the *Sceptre*, and *St. Lewis*, going to the same Work, to return to their first Births. The Mortars on Board, and those on Shore, began to fire at the same Time.

About Two in the Afternoon, two greater *Pereagoes* than that in the Morning, came before the Wind, to land Succours at the Fort, which the Governor of *Carthagena* had been solicited to send thither, upon finding their Mistake, in believing that my Expedition was upon the Galleons, and to land at *Porto Bello* ; and that I durst not engage upon an Enterprize of that Moment, as was the attacking of *Carthagena* ; but came thither only to see if the Galleons were there.

The Adventure and Example of the Morning, inspired some of the *Buccaniers* with a Resolution of doing what the Grenadiers had done : These last *Pereagoes* having passed something wide from the Post of the last, drew to the Shore only when they were pretty near the Fort ; these *Buccaniers*, at the Head of whom may be about twenty Men, that deserve to be distinguished for their Courage, my Intention being very far from comprehending them in the Descriptions which I make of the others : These *Buccaniers*, I say, having possessed, themselves of some little Houses on the Lake-side, made a very great Fire upon the *Pereagoes* ; the Noise brought the Major-General, *Canette*, *Gougon*, and some other Officers to them, who encouraging this
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Expedition to Carthagena. 31

small Number of *Buccaniers* accidentally joined by some Soldiers, led them towards the Fort, to prevent the *Pereagoes* that kept on their Way, from landing the Forces on Board them. The other *Buccaniers*, by the Example of the first, having taken Arms, ran to the Shore, where they made an extraordinary Fire ; but the Place being within Musket-shot of the Fort, the Enemy began to fire upon them ; and the *Buccaniers*, who are not used to engage where there is any Danger, made the most of their Heels to bring themselves to shelter : I met them in their Way, and finding that Words were of no Weight with them, I lighted on a Cudgel, and with that forced them to return to the Post they had abandoned. *Du Casse* was surprised at this Way of carrying Men on, yet concealed in Silence, the Vexation he conceived at the Action. In this Space of Time the *Pereagoes*, terrified with the Discharge they sustained, were tacked about, and on their Return towards *Carthagena* : The Major-General taking the Advantage of this Opportunity, posted himself with the small Troop that followed him, at the Foot of the Counterscarp, which the Blindness of the *Spaniards* had left so, as it covered us from the Fire of the Ramparts. *Canette*, *Le Cher*, *Martin*, and *Gougon*, were wounded in this Action ; fifteen Soldiers and *Buccaniers* were killed and wounded. *La Mothe*, Ensign of the *Buccaniers*, pitched his Colours, yet neither his Signal nor my Blows, were sufficiently powerful to make his Companions advance. I then imagined, that by sustaining those that were at the Foot of the Counterscarp, I might make an advantageous Business of this accidental Attempt : So I abandoned the *Buccaniers* to their Cowardice, and ordered two Companies of Grenadiers, with the Battalion of *de la Chenau* that was at hand, to march : *Levy* put himself at their Head, and, to shorten

shorten the Way, marched up to his Belly through the Water, and so possessed himself likewise of the Foot of the Counterscarp ; at this instant *Du Casse* received a Contusion on the Thigh, by a Cannon Ball falling among a Heap of Stones. The Major-General did not forget to send me word, that the Post he had taken might be kept, by causing the Troops to march, altho' at the hazard of some Men, by reason of the Fire which they were to sustain in going to it ; but those Men were got to him, before his Messenger had spoke to me, so there was no Time for Deliberation, it being necessary to maintain this Lodgment ; because the Counterscarp almost environing the Place, through the Fault of not being cut sloping at the Foot, afforded Shelter from the Fire of the Ramparts, and was capable of receiving a greater Number of Men than mine. I sent Major *Thesut* to bring up the Battalions, as likewise the Ladders, with all imaginable Expedition, to be at Hand, in case there should be occasion for them ; and as the Battalions came up, so they defiled off to the Foot of the Counterscarp. The Besieged fired very briskly, but being obliged to expose their whole Bodies, that their Shot might not be made too high, and being easily reached in that Posture, they soon be-thought themselves of firing from behind their Defences, and thereby occasioned us but very little Damage.

Du Buisson Varenne was at the Place of our Descent with two Battalions, who hearing the Noise of our Fire, imagined we were attacking the Place, altho' he knew not in what Manner ; he made thro' the Wood, into the Place where the two Mortars were raised, and by the Way of the little Plain, which is but a quarter so long as that in the Wood which makes a Circle, he brought us that Supply at the Minute the Besieged called out, They were willing

Expedition to Carthagera. 33

willing to capitulate, if they might have good Quarter. I answered them, that there was good Quarter for them ; but that was all : And, that, if they did not immediately throw their Arms into the Ditch, for an Instance of their Sincerity to surrender, I would continue the setting up of my Ladders ; after which, they were not to hope for Quarter. Several of them obeyed, and we saw the Harquebuzes in the Air falling into the Ditch. By this being very well assured of their Intention, I presently confirmed the first Assurance of fair Quarter, with my farther Promises of good Usage : I required to have the Gate opened at that Instant, my Impatience not being satisfied with their calling from the Place, that they were actually at Work upon clearing of it : For I was apprehensive, that some Alteration might happen by the Delay. But to appease me, they let down a Man by a Cord, who came to assure me from the Governor, That they used the utmost Diligence to deliver themselves into my Hands. In a Moment of Time the Gate was opened, and old *Sanchez Ximenez*, who had been Governor for above twenty-five Years, came and delivered the Keys into my Possession. I gave him all the Comfort I could, in the good Usage I shewed him, by giving him and his Officers their Liberties, and among the rest too, the President of the Isle of *St. Martha*, who happened to be at that Time in the Fort, and to be wounded : Moreover, I permitted the Governor to carry away whatsoever belonged to him ; and the next Day he retired, with his Domesticks and Slaves, to his Country-Houses, on the other Side of the Lake.

This Piece of Success did not stand me in above fifty Men, therein comprehending all the several Bodies, as Grenadiers, Soldiers, Inhabitants of the Coasts, Negroes, and *Buccaniers*. The Garrison being Prisoners of War, were confined. *La Roche, du Vigier*, that commanded the Grenadiers, I made

Governor ; to whom, besides Cannoniers, and other necessary Workmen, I left the Soldiers of the Coast for his Garrison. By this I put him into a Condition of defending me, if occasion were. The Enemies Garrison did consist of about three hundred Men, whereof two hundred and ten remained fit for Service, the rest were either killed or wounded in the Bombardment, Cannonading, and Attack.

On the seventeenth we re-embarked all that we had on Shoar, towards the Main Sea, and began to work ourselves into the Lake ; but the careful transporting of our Ammunition and Provision being of the highest Consequence, and could only be counted safe in the Lake, I resolved not to stir, until they were got in : For which Reason I was obliged to defer our March until the next Day, to the second Fort, that was about two Leagues and a half from us, called *St. Croix* ; the Taking of which was not less necessary to enable our Ships to come within Cannon-shot of *Carthagena*, than that of *Bocca ebica* to facilitate the Entrance into the Lake.

My Intention all along was to cut off the Avenues of *Carthagena*, so soon as it was possible, by securing the Post of *Nestre Dame de la Pouppe* ; to which Purpose, I had in the Morning sent away the Brigantine, *Traversiers*, and Chaloups, necessary for the carrying of the *Buccaniers*, which I order'd upon this Expedition, for the Reasons before-mention'd. *Du Cassé* fearing that a long troublesome March might bring his Contusion into a Wound, refused to charge himself with the Command : His Major, that had formerly served with those Pirates, and was at present in a considerable Employ, ought to have had this Command ; but he likewise distrusted his Health : Thus there was only *Dannon* left, who was no Ways agreeable to them, as well by Reason of his Misfortune, in not having acquired on the Coast of *St. Domingo*, either the Esteem or Love of any Body ; as likewise upon the Account

count of being Lieutenant-Governor in a Place where they never make any Stay ; so they could not be persuaded, that he had any Right to command them : However, it was necessary I should make Use of him, for want of another. I disposed of all Things for it, delivered him his Instructions, and even made most of them embark in my Presence ; yet no sooner was my Back turned, but he came running up with Tears in his Eyes, to demand Justice upon their Insolence, for pressing them to go into the Boats, that attended on them ; it was murmur'd about, that they did not know him, neither would they obey him : In short, they refused to embark ; whereupon he took one of them by the Arm, to push him into the Canoe, which the Fellow had the Impudence to return very insolently. I forthwith ordered the Delinquent to be shew'd to me, and upon the Spot I had him tied to a Tree ; a Confessor was called, a Cloth bound over his Eyes, and the Musketeers were marching to do Justice on him ; when *Daunou*, whom 'twas very necessary for me to reconcile to the *Buccaniers*, having before-hand instructed him what to do, threw himself at my Feet, protesting, he would not rise until I had bestowed Mercy on the unfortunate Offender. I seemed to be very difficult upon the Account of good Order ; but at Length, at the pressing Desires of the Company, I gave him his Life. And much Trouble there was to revive the Condemned, who could not believe that it was possible for him to be alive again, after the Ceremony of binding his Eyes.

Being desirous to put an End to this Affair, I went to the nearest Vessel, where Captain *Pierre* was embarked ; who was (as I was inform'd) the first Beginner of the Mutiny ; but, in the Time of bringing the Fellow to Execution, he had consider'd the Matter, and was marched on Board with his

36 Monsieur Du Pointis's

Buccaniers; I commanded him to be immediately dragged out, and put into my Canoe, and ordered him to prepare to die: But there appearing from the rest of the Company many Signs of Submission, and Acclamations of, *God save the King*, I at last resolved to forgive the Offence; yet withal threatening to decimate them, upon the least Complaint that *Daunou* should make of their Misbehaviour.

This Usage, so different from the Cajolements they had been accustomed to receive, from those that made Use of them, did me very good Service, during the whole Time they were under me, so as to make 'em tolerably obedient to *Daunou*; yet not exposing themselves to the Danger of Fire and Sword: For having without Trouble possessed themselves of *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*, that was utterly abandon'd by the Enemy; and believing that upon their Approach to the little Fort of *St. Lazare*, between *La Pouppe* and *Carthagena*, they might frighten the Garrison to retire from them also, he propos'd this Attempt to them; but it was to no Purpose: And in a Council where he did not preside, they resolved to attend my Coming, encamped in the Wood, at the Foot of the Fort, where they got about thirty Hours before me.

On the Seventeenth, all the Ships being drawn into Order, at the Entrance into the Lake, they passed it in the Morning of the Eighteenth. The *Diep* Flyboat touched; the great many Banks of Sand in the Lake, which our Pilots did not know, was the Occasion we did not advance very much that Day: The *Apollo* ran a-ground this Day; but these Banks being only Sand and Ouse, mingled with a very fine Turf, there was no fear of Danger.

In the mean Time, being sure of having the Ships suddenly follow me, we began our March by Break of Day; and for Security against all Hazards, took two Days Provision with us for the Forces,

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ces, which was dignified with the Title of the Land Army : This, after the Departure of the six hundred and fifty *Buccaniers*, that were gone to the other Side, and the Garrison of one hundred and seventy Men remaining behind us in the Fort of *Bocca ebica*, might consist of about one thousand seven hundred Men, not including some Seamen, one hundred and ten Inhabitants of *St. Domingo* formed in Companies, fifteen or twenty Volunteers, that followed *Du Casse*, and one hundred and eighty Negroes.

I was obliged to defer making Use of my Seamen, until the Ships were arrived, and had taken their Stations : The Smallness of our Forces was no Discouragement to us. The Marines especially, being highly pleased with the Execution of a Business, in which they had never before been employed, did apply themselves with all imaginable Diligence and Good-will, every one of them chearfully undertaking whatsoever was appointed to him.

After we had crossed the Mountains covered with Woods, which the Negroes examined before us, we met with the Plain, that is here and there covered with Shrub-wood, and at Noon came to an old ruined Castle, within half a Mile of *St. Croix* : Here we rested the Troops ; and besides the Pits, that are there easily made in the Sand, and afford indifferent good Water, we had the good Fortune to find a great Cistern that was a mighty Conveniency to us. After this Refreshment, the Viscount *de Coetlogon*, whose Day it was, marched on with a Part of the Grenadiers, to observe how we might encamp as near as possible to the Fort, and to seize upon the Passages that are in those Marshes, that encompass the Fort ; in the mean Time we continued our March, not being able to leave the Shore, because the Lake approaching in divers Places within a few Paces of the Sea, per-

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mits you the Choice of that Way only, until we came down from the Mountains, below which the Island is pretty spacious. This Way having brought us within Cannon-shot of the Bastion of *Carthagena*, called *St. Domingo*, we struck short off to the Right, by a Way that the Marsh leaves cross the low Woods, called *Maugliers*, that grow in the Water.

In this Place I was informed by the Officers that *Coetlogon* sent me, that he was at the Foot of *St. Croix*, which the Enemy had abandoned, having carried off their Cannon, and set Fire to the Lodgements that were there; likewise that some Part of the Forces might encamp upon a Spot of Ground about the Fort, but that the rest must be left in the Way worn near the Fort by a Rill of Water running from the neighbouring Marshes; that the Bottom was good, and the Water not above Knee-deep, which would no way prevent a Communication.

Levy, the Major-General, and myself, with some Grenadiers, were in the mean Time so near advanced to *Carthagena*, as easily to observe, that the Place could not be attacked on one Side, the Marshes and Sea not leaving there a Sandy Space of about twenty Fathom over, which was exposed to the Fire of three Bastions; besides, there was no sinking two Foot Deep, without being in Water. The great Number of People that we saw on the Ramparts, who quietly looked on us, made me desirous to summon them; the Governor was there, and answered my Drum, that he was ready to defend himself better than we could attack him.

We could not exactly discern the Foot of the Rampart; and being desirous to know, if there was a Ditch, I ordered *De Bresme*, whose Battalion was encamped at the least Distance from it, to examine at Night how it was, which he performed very well, and assured me, that the Water of the Marsh went up even to the Foot of the Walls, and that there

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was only a small dry Space of Sand, that environed Part of the great Bastion called *St. Domingo*, and that on the other Side, the Sea came up to the Foot of the Bastion. This Report made us conclude, not to attack *Carthagena* in this Place.

The next Day, being the nineteenth, so soon as it was Day, we crossed the Lake, with much Deligence : *Pally*, that commanded the Negroes, whom I had ordered to seek out a convenient Place of Descent, having assured me, that he had found out two, which came almost up to the great Way ; I immediately passed over with *Levy*, *Sorel*, and the Grenadiers of the Battalion of *de la Chenau*, being conducted by some Prisoners, that *Pally* had taken on board of a *Pereago*, which had endeavoured to get from *Carthagena* : These Prisoners, in hopes of being better treated, had offered themselves for our Guides ; and indeed led us very nigh to the Foot of the Eminency, upon which Fort *St. Lazare* is situated. At this Place we found the *Buccaniers*, (*Dannou* had left a Detachment of 'em to guard *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*) *Coetlogon*, *La Motte Michel*, and *La Motte d'Heran*, whom I had left at *St. Croix*, to bring away the rest of the Troops, as the Chaloups came to them, insomuch that we were all got together by Break of Day next Morning, leaving only a Serjeant and twenty Men in Fort *St. Croix*, with Orders to keep the Gates always shut, that and the Situation being sufficient to prevent the Enemy from repossessing themselves of it.

We had in the Evening of the nineteenth Day viewed all the Places adjacent to *St. Lazare*, and perceived, that without getting it into our Possession, it would not be possible to advance a Step towards *Carthagena*, by reason it commands all the Avenues : We beheld with much Trouble, the Time it must cost us, if we attacked it in Form, and brought our Artillery to batter it. This whole
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little Mountain is defended with a natural Glacis, very steep, covered with Shrub-wood, which runs up to the Foot of the Wall, where we supposed was a Ditch; the Wood being extremely thick, and very difficult to pass, prevented us from going to it; upon which I ordered the *Chevalier de Pointis*, to seek out two Negroes to examine the Matter; but understanding to what Purpose I sent for them, he betook himself to the Wood, at the same Time he sent them to me, which he crossed in the best Manner he could, until he took hold of the very Wall; the Negroes went almost as fast as he, and then came to assure me that the Ground was level to the Foot of the Fort: The *Chevalier de Pointis* quietly heard their Report, which being exactly true, he said not a Word of what he had done. In all these Occasions, there was only a Grenadier killed upon our Return.

Upon the next Day, being the twentieth, *Levy*, *Coetlogon*, and *Sorel*, having got up to an Eminency, that was above all the others, sent to me, to come to them; from whence they shewed me, that the Fort did not take up (as we had imagined) all the Eminency, which extended a good Distance farther to the Right; and, that if we could make a Way, through the Wood, to that Height, we might afterwards go upon a Level from thence to the Foot of the Fort, all the Way being covered with Woods; and that we could fix a Miner to it, if the Garrison should resolve not to quit it. Upon this, I ordered the Major-General to call to Arms, and having called the Negroes to me at the Moment I came down, I put them to Work upon cutting of a Way, to facilitate the March of the Troops; this was carried on half-way up the Hill, where dividing the Way, to encompass the Fort, *Levy* marched to the Right, *Coetlogon* to the Left, and the Major-General visited every Place as his Presence was requisite.

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This Work being found shorter than what we had expected, we arrived at the foot of the Fort in a very little time, where we made the greatest Fire that was possible for us to make, at the same time calling out for the Ladders; not that we expected to use them, but to terrify the Garrison; however, I sent for the Miner in good earnest.

During which time, the Enemy made no great Fire, by reason we made our Shot upon them, so soon as they exposed their Bodies to view. They had for a good while perceived that we were piercing through the Wood; and we understood, by the sounding of a Bell, how much every step we made increased their trouble. This Bell was a signal to the City, to acquaint them with their Condition; at first it struck only now and then, keeping sounding more and more by degrees, until at length it rung full out, when their fear gave them occasion to think they would be attack'd on all sides, which had effectually happen'd, if they had not chose rather to retire, for the Quarter towards the Gate was then free to them.

In this manner we possess'd ourselves of the Fort: In the place there was only nine kill'd and wounded. On our side, the Chevalier *de Vezins* that commanded the Grenadiers, since *La Roche du Vigier* was made Governor of *Bocachica*, was kill'd, with five Grenadiers; *Simmonet*, Colonel of a Battalion, dangerously hurt in the Head, and *St. Lazare*, Captain of Grenadiers, wounded in the Thigh.

The taking of *St. Lazare* giving us the liberty to open our selves, we cross'd the way, and advanced our Camp to the Chapel of *St. Lazare* Hospital, which is a great breadth; being cover'd on one Side with several little Canals, that have a communication with the Lake, and on the other, by a high thick wall, which besides the Trees that

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covered

covered us, did prevent the Bastions of the City from discerning the place we possess'd ; the kill'd and wounded that we had, were only by chance Balls : In the mean time, this little Chapel gave us the opportunity of going covered within a small Musquet-shot of the place, which is not above that distance from it.

Whilst we were thus employ'd, the Ships, by the care of *Du Buiffon*, were come nearer to the Town ; insomuch that in the Morning, a Bomb-Galliot, with a Mortar, and a *Traversier*, were moor'd, and began to fire. In the Evening the *Traversier* was obliged to retire, being shot thro' with several Balls, and ready to sink ; *Bois Pinault*, Lieutenant of the Artillery, commanded her ; *De Mons* was in the Galliot, which likewise suffer'd so much, that she was obliged to retire a little ; besides she had a great many kill'd on board her ; but the Strength of these Vessels enabling them to endure a great deal of Fire, she began again in the Morning of the twenty-first of the same Month.

My chief Ingenier was wounded, and ill ; whereby I was obliged to execute that Function. The Officers of the Marines, which I had formed into Brigades, had only their own Readiness to enable them to execute every thing, which could not supply the want of Practice and Judgment. I had, by good Luck, at the first agreed with the Major-General where to begin the Opening and Advancement of the Trenches. I had, moreover, design'd the Batteries of Cannons and Mortars, and given Orders for the things necessary to the Works ; by which means, the Accident that happened to me a few Hours afterwards, did not much interrupt our Proceedings : In the mean time, all Hands were at work, the Soldiers upon Fascines and Gabions, the Sea-men upon landing the Artillery ; in the drawing of which, the Hundred and eighty Negroes were

were a mighty Assistance to us: For as to the *Buccaniers*, we were never able to make the least use of them; and the share which they ought to have performed of the work, falling upon others, who were by this means over-wrought, did not a little contribute to the causing of those Distempers, which so lamentably reigned among us afterwards.

Our small number, and the great many things to be done, forced us to keep the Troops with their Arms in one hand, and their working-Tools in the other, the soldiers were at one and the same time, both on the Guard, and working; the nearness of the woods, on whose sides we were encamped, were a great conveniency to us: For when we drew out our Troops, they left their Arms upon that spot, and went to the wood with their Tools; and upon the first Beat of Drum they quitted their Tools, and running to their Arms, were immediately in a condition of marching; the Battalion of Grenadiers was ever at the Head of the Camp, to sustain whatsoever might be presented; and that was sufficient, by reason the disposition of the Ground was such, that the Camp was on all parts inaccessible, but on that only towards the City.

Nor were they less diligent on board the Fleet: *Du Buiffon* caused the *Scepter* to advance, commanded by *Guilotin*, the *Saint Lewis* by *Sabran*, and the *Vermandois*, aboard which he commanded; with these Ships he made up towards the City, notwithstanding the *Spaniards* had purposely sunk a Galleon to render the Passage difficult: We were obliged to leave on board these Ships that were to fight, a great many Sea-men to work the Guns; which diminish'd the number of those employ'd upon Disembarkment, and transporting of the Artillery that was necessary to us on shoar: It is hardly to be imagined, how so small a Parcel of our

Men was able in fix Days to difimbark, draw half a League upon Land, and bring into a State of Battery, twenty-seven of the greateft cannon we used, five Mortars, and all the Equipage neceffary to the execution both of the one and the other, befides the Provisions that were obliged to bring to the camp; but it is true, that *Du Tilleul* being charged with this care, attended it with fuch application, that making ufe of the Seamen only at certain Intervals, he constantly kept our Magazines fill'd with Provision and Ammunition; without ever interrupting any other Bufinefs.

Our Affairs being in this State, and having moreover raifed a Mortar to prevent the Enemy from going on with a work that we perceived they had began upon a Platform over the Gate: We having twice neglected to throw up a Breaf-work that I had mark'd out; and fearing leaft at the third time there might not be something farther neceffary to be done, that might occafion a Delay, I refolved to continue my Prefence there until it was perfected; my Stay inconfiderately brought a great many Officers; this Number of People being moreover remarkable for their Clothes, drew upon us the Enemy's Fire, and particularly that of their cannon, with Hail-shot, by which I was wounded; my Hurt was more painful than dangerous, yet I was very fearful that this Accident might difcourage our Men, which indeed was too apparent at firft: Moreover I was apprehenfive leaft the Officers, whom I had by good Fortune maintained in a perfect Union hitherto, fhould not continue the fame, which would have been detrimental to our Design: I refolved therefore to ftruggle with the Pain which I felt, infomuch, that after the third Day I was carried into every part that I could have vifited in another condition:
But

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But during that Interval, I committed all things that I could not inspect, to the care of *Levy*, who certainly acquitted himself to a degree above all manner of Praise; indefatigable, full of Expedients and Contrivances for the Work; neglectful of his Rest and his Meals; he was every where, and forwarded every thing with an incredible Vigour.

The Viscount *de Coetlogon* was to have commanded the Artillery; but I was over-joyed to understand, that his Inclinations were rather to enter, with the rest, into the general Service; this gave me an opportunity of choosing several Persons to manage the Artillery, who did their Duty with more Expedition than would have been possible for any single Man to have done: So he had the Guard only of the Battery of five Cannons of twelve and eighteen Pounders, which he raised at the foot of Fort St. *Lazare*; in which Fort we had got mounted seven Pieces of twelve, eight, and six, that terribly shatter'd the Bastions of the place. *Mornay*, Commander of the *Pontchartrain*, was in the Fort with his Ship's Company; the Chevalier *De la Motte d'Heran* took upon him the care of a great Battery of nine Guns, that was likewise upon the same Eminency with the Fort, but more to the right than the first: *La Motte Michel* had the Charge of that we called, *The Royal Battery*, consisting of six pieces of thirty-six and twenty-four, planted sixty fathoms distant from the Gate, and designed to make the Breach: *Gombaudo* played the Mortars, which he had been exercised in from his Youth, and doubtless never any did better execution than these; for one would have thought the Bombs had been plac'd by Hand, in the places where they were designed to fall. These Mortars were placed between the Batteries of the cannon, in such manner, that as soon as they began to play the

the

the place was on fire in several parts at once ; the Galliot was at work on her side, but the Bombs she spent the first Days were of little or no effect.

The twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth, were employ'd in transporting the Cannon, and getting together the things necessary ; the *Vermandois* only was advanced to cannonade the town ; but I being informed, that she being alone did solely bear the whole Fire of a Bastion, that could conveniently reach her, I ordered her to retire, and to wait for the other Ships that were to go on with her ; we were likewise constrained to bring away two small Cannons that we had rais'd in the chapel of St. *Lazare*, without any other parapet than the Wall, upon which the Enemy making an extraordinary Fire, rendered this Post untenable, we brought off the Cannon with the Loss of eight or ten Men.

Canette, altho' wounded, returned to the Camp this Day, being the twenty-fourth, and I continued to regulate upon my Bed with him, what was necessary to be done. In the Evening of the same Day he opened the Trench a little below the Door of the Chapel of St. *Lazare*, where we were under Cover, being the same Place I had agreed upon with the Major-General. *Levy*, whose Day it was, did not command, by reason he was intrusted with the general Management of the Siege in my stead : *Coetlogon* mounted the Guard in the trench, which was advanced the same Night seventy-two fathoms, being as far as was necessary to attack the City Gate, when the Breach should be perfectly made. The following Days the Captains took their Turns according to their Places, and mounted every twenty-four Hours ; the Batteries were likewise brought into a condition for Service, and on the twenty-eighth began

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began to play, our Fire until then being only from some little Pieces that were mounted in haste. The Enemies Fire, which had always been very moderate, grew now something slower; for the Bombs and the Cannon of the Fort and the Hill, had dismounted several of their Pieces; yet they troubled us less with their Sallies, for they did not so much as attempt to make one in the whole Siege.

At this time, a Bark sent from *Porto Bello*, by the General of the Galleons, to the Governor of *Carthagena*, not knowing what pass'd in this place, came quietly into *Bocachica*, and fell into the Hands of the *Avenant*, and *Marin*, that I had left there, who took her with their Canoes: The Letters on board her, were in Answer to those the Governor of *Carthagena* had sent to the General, informing him, that the *French Fleet* was upon the Coast; they contained a particular of the Precautions that were us'd to secure the Galleons, viz: By bringing them to the very lower End of the Port, and defending the Approach to them by an Estocade of Piles, and Platforms of Cannon: They added farther, that Part of the Silver which they had, was already brought into the Castles; for they had suspended their Resolution of sending it back to *Panama*, until they had received some farther Informations of our Designs; which the General pressed the Governor to send him immediately, either by the said Bark, or a second, that was to come away in four and twenty Hours after the first: But what acquainted us with the miserable Condition they were in, was the earnest Desires of the General, in the most pressing terms, to send him fifty Pullets, and some Quintals of white Biscuit.

Altho' the batteries, as I said, were not in a condition to fire, until the twenty-eighth, yet that designed

signed to make the Breach, was play'd so successfully, by *La Motte, Michel, Siglas, Longjume* and some other Officers under him, assisted by the Gunner of the *Scepter*, that on the twenty-ninth in the Morning, the Wall seemed to totter; our Fire had not been discontinued because of the Night, but it increas'd so much in the Day, that in the Evening the Front of the Rampart being quite fallen down, *Levy* and *Sorel*, who would lose no Time, imagin'd the Breach was passable, and came to propose the Assault to me. I was resolved neither to lose, nor neglect a Minute; but likewise determined not to hazard any thing upon ill Grounds: I ordered to Arms, and disposed all things for an Assault; yet resolving not to engage before I judg'd it feasible: In short, Night being come, whilst we prepared our selves, the *Chevalier de Pointis* passing up to the Arm-pits in Water, over the little Marsh upon which the Causey, and the Bridge, that communicates with the City, are built, went to view the Breach. He assured me, that the wall was indeed very much ruined; but that it was not possible, as yet, to mount it without Ladders.

The *Chevalier de Ferriere*, Captain of a Fire-ship, who was at the Head of the Brigade of Ingeniers, that I had sent to observe the condition of the wooden Bridge, (which the Enemy had endeavoured to blow up, by running under a *Pereago* fill'd with Powder) brought me word, that the Bridge had suffered; yet might not be altogether unserviceable to us: And that the Gate beyond it which we imagin'd was beat down by the cannon, was strongly terrass'd on the inside; of this he was positively certain, by reason he had put his Hand into the Holes which the Cannon had made, and therefore there was no Hopes of carrying the place by that; but that the Breach must be pass'd, to the
foot

foot of which he could not get from the place where he was ; and that he was, by all that he could perceive in the Night, but little advanced.

These two Officers were too well known, to doubt of their having been where they said they were : Moreover, *Canette* told me he was not quite ready ; that all the Gabions and Fascines which he had got together, were spent ; and, that if by chance we should find so much resistance as to be obliged to lodge upon the Breach, we should not be able to do it, our Earth-sacks being at the Lake-side, for want of Hands to bring them ; that there were two little Flanks unruined, that would destroy a great many Men in the Attack ; all these Reasons engaged me to dismiss the Troops from their Duty, and we agreed not to make the Assault until the first of the next Month ; in the mean time, to employ both Night and Day in the finishing of the Breach, and to get together all such things as would be necessary upon that occasion.

Upon the twenty-ninth *DuBuisson* being advanc'd with the three Ships, *Scepter*, *St. Lewis*, and *Vermandois*, within a small Cannon-shot of the City, they fired upon it with all their Artillery ; but seeing it only reached the tops of the Houses, and my Business being to have two Bastions silenc'd that annoy'd my Camp, I sent to let them know, That when they were retired in the Evening, they should wait new Orders before they begun again.

In the mean time, we prepar'd our selves for the Business of the next Day ; the Order of Attack I had regulated with the Major-General, in this manner :

A Serjeant, with ten Grenadiers, should begin, sustained by the Company of Grenadiers on Guard, there being always one at the Head of the Trench ; the whole Body of Grenadiers were likewise to ad-

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vance

vance to the Head of it, to sustain the first, and to preceed a Battalion, in whose Rear should be *Cannette*, the Chevalier *de Ferriere*, *du Crest*, *Courfy*, and one hundred and fifty Workmen, with the Sub-Ingeniers, and all necessary Implements; after whom should follow the same number of *Buccaniers* and Negroes. The Head of the Trench was twenty Fathom distant from the little Ravelin, that in some sort covers the Bridge, whose Wall was so low, that it might have been pass'd, if it had not been easier to pass through a single Barrier that was there, and these Troops fill'd all the Trench, unto the Gate of the Chapel: All the rest of the Battalions were posted according to their Ranks, within the Close of the Hospital, to march into the Trench as fast as the first Troops advanc'd out of it, to the Attack, and to follow 'em up, and sustain them. I recommended to Major *Thesut*, in particular, the good order which these Battalions were to observe to the end, that too much Precipitation might not cause Confusion in their March, nor too much Slowness occasion as much Inconveniency by any Interval being left open.

All Things were thus regulated for the next Day, when *Du Casse*, whose Day it was, came to tell me, about three o' Clock, that he saw the Breach from the head of the Trench, plainly enough to assure me that it was passable; that he believed the Enemies were at Work behind, in throwing up a Retrenchment. A Delay in this Case would have been so very inconvenient to me, by reason of the time I should have given the Enemies, to finish their Work, that I forthwith resolved to attack the Enemies at that instant, provided I found the Breach to be as it was described to me. I was the more inclined to believe it, by being inform'd by all Hands, in the Morning, with the good Effects of the *Royal Battery*, which

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which at every Discharge brought prodigious Ruins from the Wall ; and, at the worst, I could not be more asham'd in retiring, if Things should not appear in the Condition reported, than I had been the Night before.

I immediately sent for *Levy*, the Major-General, *Canette* and some other Officers, that were gone to *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*, to discover from that Place the Condition of the Town ; but hearing a general Alarm beaten, they presently returned ; and being informed what was to be done, every one of them ran to give the necessary Orders to what belonged to him. The Troops at work in the Woods, being called by the Drums, instantly came to their Arms, and put themselves into order ; there was only a small Body in the Trench, that were not exactly placed where they were to be ; but the Major-General disposed of them with all Expedition : At which time *Nesmond*, *Poullermout*, *La Lind*, *Du Cbe* and *Rocbebonne*, who (as I said before) chose rather to serve as my *Aids de Camp*, than to be employed in any other Service, not knowing but that the Troops were in perfect order came to acquaint me that every thing was ready, and that they waited for my Orders to march : I gave it, imagining like the rest, that all the Wall was fallen.

The Order was immediately carried by my *Aids de Camp* ; who having all undertaken to deliver it, took that occasion to run to the head of the Trench, *De Tilleul* only, that could not be any where else, was with me ; *Du Casse* was on his Day in the Trench ; but *Levy* being the eldest of all, and this Action being regarded as a general Affair, by reason all were employed in it, put himself at the Head and gave the Motion to the Troops to begin, at the moment he received the Order ; which was

as suddenly executed, as it was speedily carried.

What ought to have been a great Advantage, had like to have caus'd a great Inconveniency; the Officers, notwithstanding the Remonstrances that had been made them, upon the necessity of each of them being at his Post, to see the Troops perform their Duty; carried on by their Courage, the greatest part of them advanced before the Troops, and assaulted the Breach with Sword in Hand, without observing how they were followed; and the Troops unprovided of Leaders, did indeed march on, but slower than the safety of their Officers required, who remained for a considerable time exposed upon the Breach which they had gain'd. We were all deceived in our Reckoning, for it was the steepest Way imaginable: The Grenadiers who were order'd not to fire, could not abstain from it, when they came to be exposed out of the Trench, and to suffer the Fire of the Ramparts; but the Time they employ'd to re-charge, detaining them in the way between the Trench and the Breach, was the Reason of their Officers being alone at the Top: *Lenny* repaired the Inconveniency of this Accident so soon as it was possible by hastening on the Troops, as likewise by his Words and his Actions. In the mean time, the *Chevalier de Pointis*, who had first mounted, was in an Instant joined by *Gougon*, *Faucourt*, and *Marolles*, whose Battalion was on the Trench Guard: *Daye*, *Vignancourt*, *Montrasier*, *Du Rollin*, *Van-joux*, young *Marolles*, *Marigny*, *Fouilleuse*, and my *Aids de camp*: They endeavoured to maintain themselves, notwithstanding all the Efforts of the Enemy, who were attacked at the time they least expected it; yet not being dismayed, they attempted to drive us off with Sword and Pike. *Marolles* and *Du Roullon*, were already mortally wounded; and upon the Ground; *Fouilleuse* had his Leg broke,

Gougon,

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Gougon, *Montrosier*, young *Marolles*, *Marigny*, *Deye*, and *Mouffac*, were all wounded; some shot, others hurt with Pikes; some of them had several Wounds, as *Montrosier*, and *Vanjoux*; when at length *Levy*, and the Grenadiers came to their Assistance, and repuls'd the Enemy; who rallying nevertheless at the End of the Streets, were several times charged before they could be driven off. *Du Casse* not so nimble as the rest, altho' the first at the foot of the Bridge, maugre all his Good-will, had so much trouble to climb it, that he was out of Breath by that time he got to the top, where he thought he should never recover his Wind. He was followed by fifteen or twenty Volunteers, Inhabitants of the Coast, who did very good Service; for firing upon such of the Enemies as were yet upon the Ramparts, behind two little Flankers that fired upon the Bridge, and very much annoy'd our Troops; they at length obliged them to follow those that were driven from the Platform, where the Breach ended; the Major-General, who at the Bottom of the Breach was wounded by a Musquet-Ball in the Neck, followed by *Barandin*, one of his Aids, and *Frankin*, Captain of the Grenadiers, with his Arm broken, notwithstanding mounted the Breach together; but the Captain's Strength failing, so soon as he was up, he was forc'd to be brought off, for the same Reason the Major-General was not able to make a longer Stay.

All the Troops defiling in the mean time one from another, I found myself at last rid of all Uneasiness for the Success of an Action, that may, with Modesty, be term'd very bold, and very extraordinary for Seafaring Men.

A Party of the Negroes of *Pally*, who conducted them, in defiling off to the Ramparts on the left, pushed the Enemy from Bastion to Bastion, unto the

the Causey that divides this part of the City, particularly called *Hibimani*, from the other call'd by the general Name of *Caribagena*; but the *Buccaniers* to exempt themselves from the Attack of the Breach, had consulted the matter upon the Bridge, and the little Causeway of *Hibimani*, and resolved to line the Hedge over against the Ramparts, where they made an extraordinary Fire, not perceiving the Part they chose out of Fear, was more dangerous than that they endeavoured to avoid: But by good Fortune for them, the Enemy was driven off from those Ramparts, and those *Indian* Heroes adventured to enter when they thought the Business was pretty well at an End; yet they were a little mistaken in this Account: For the Enemy after having stood firm at all the Corners of the Streets were at length driven to the Causey of *Hibimani* towards *Caribagena*, into which they designed to retreat; but the Governor (who perhaps feared that upon opening the Gates we might enter Pell-mell with his People) plainly told them that he would not let them in, until they had attack'd us in *Hibimani*: So after the Loss of about 800 men, urged by Necessity, and possibly the Wine they had drunk infusing fresh Courage into them, they got together in a Croud, and with a great Cry came and charged us at the Head of the great Street which ends at the Causey: We had just began to cast up a Retrenchment there, and the Troops not having time to bring themselves into Order, surprized with this Attack, moved a little backwards, to cover themselves with the Houses of the Streets which cross'd that: But while *Levy* and the Officers brought them into Order, which was instantly done, *Vignancourt*, the Chevalier de *Pointis*, *Gougon*, and *Faucourt*, with a small Number of Grenadiers, sustained this impetuous

ous Attack; but the Troops being brought back to the Charge, made a very great Slaughter of the Enemies; above one hundred and fifty were found the next Day upon the Causey, pierced with Bayonets, besides those that went off wounded. In this Charge the Viscount *de Coetlogon* was wounded with a Musket Ball in his Shoulder, who was come hither from the Battery, accompanied by *De la Motte Michel*, and *De la Motte d'Heran*; his Wound did not at first appear to be considerable, but by weakening of him it contributed to his Death, caused by a malignant Fever; and here the Chevalier *de Pointis*, after having pass'd through so many Dangers to which he exposed himself, received the wound he died of; the Marquis *De Boury* was at this time likewise hurt in his Face, *St. Amant* on the Side, and many other Officers received contusions.

The Enemy being drove back again, were received by a little Port into *Carthageria*; we applied ourselves in *Hibimani* to making of Retrenchments at all the Avenues, to secure us from Surprises, and to permit our troops to pass the Night quietly, in the convenient Lodgings of a handsome city; the Fire of the Enemies Cannon killed some Men in this work, that were commanded by the Chevalier *de la Ferriene*, *du Crest*, and *Courty*, under the direction of *Canette*; about ten at Night all was in good Order.

In this Action I lost about sixty Men, and half more than that Number wounded, without comprehending the Officers beforementioned.

It was resolved to rest the troops the next Day being the first of *May*, and to work only upon the opening of the Gate, and repairing of the Bridge for the passage of the great cannon, with

which we designed to beat down the Rampart we had to pass, before we could enter into the other part of the city. *Canette* went in the Morning early to view the Places of Batery that were to be rais'd, and having shewed them to me in the Evening, I found them so near the wall, that I did not doubt making a very considerable Breach in a very little time; this whole causey, and that part of the Marsh which divides *Carthagena*, are not a Musket-shot over.

This Day I sent on board the *Scepter*, *St. Lewis*, and the *Vermandois*, a part of the Detachment of Seamen, call'd Scythemen, by reason of the small Scythes fix'd upon Staffs which they had for their Arms; I ordered these Ships to endeavour again the next Day to ruin the Defences of a Bastion that could hurt us more than the others. About three o'clock on the Second, they began to cannonade; in the mean time we put all things into a readiness, towards the bringing of the great cannon into *Hibimani*; this cannonading continued until Six; when at the Sight of four white Flags flying, two on *Hibimani* Side, and the others towards the Sea, I ordered the Ships to forbear firing until I knew the Intentions of the Besieged. They told *Du Casse*, who by the means of a little *Spanish* run himself into all things, that they were willing to capitulate upon honourable terms. I sent them word, that before I entered upon it, I expected Hostages that very Moment, without giving any other Assurance than my Parole, to return them the next Day, in case we did not agree upon terms. This hard condition was accepted; which plainly shewed me that the Enemies were straitened. In short, the Precedent of *Hibimani* terrified them, and the Bombs permitted them no manner of rest; so they brought me two of the most

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most considerable Men amongst them. At this instant I received Advice from two Places of 1000, or 1200 Men being upon their March to throw themselves into *Carthagena*: An *Indian* was the first that brought me this Account; which was afterwards confirmed to me by a Letter from a Lieutenant at *Bocachica*; who seeking for fresh Provisions in the Country, had been besieged in one of the Houses of Don *Sanchez Ximenez*, defended by his People against a small Detachment of that Body on their March. That he had been among the Troops; who knowing that we possess'd the common Highway, did design to go round the great Lake, and passing afterwards through Byways into the little Lakes that lie about *Carthagena*, to go on along the Sea-side, and get into the City by the Bastions of *St. Catherine*. I immediately ordered ashore all the Scythmen, and Seamen that could possibly be spared, who were also provided with Arms; these were set to guard the Batteries, for all the Artillery was as yet there. I detach'd *Du Casse* with 500 *Buccaniers*, and a Batallion of 300 Soldiers, to stop the Passage of these Succours; he posted himself amongst the little Lakes where the Enemies would be obliged to come; and the Advantage of the Place wherein he was posted, enabled him to have given a very good Account of them. The next Day I sent *Dauvou* with a less Number, being informed it would be sufficient to repel the Succours, in case it should be attempted; but they did not appear, neither did I ever know the Reasons of it.

In the mean time we were employed upon the Capitulation. *Du Casse*, ever an importunate Advocate for the *Spaniards*, continually tormented me, to mitigate the Conditions I impos'd upon them: I

them : But being not only charged with the Support of the Honour due to his Majesty's Arms, but having likewise my Undertakers Interest to manage, I stood firm to my Demands, altho' an infinite Number of Reasons might have occasioned me to be more impatient than any Body else, to have this Affair determined. At length I proposed to the Governor, the honourable Articles of passing out through the Breach, with all those carrying Arms, Drums beating, to take four Pieces of Cannon; and as to the rest, it was agreed, that all the Silver without Exception, or Reserve, in Favour of whomsoever it might be, should belong to me, that the Effects of all such as went out, or were absent, of whatsoever Nature the said Effects were, should devolve to me; that such of the Inhabitants as would continue in the Place, excepting their Plate should enjoy all their Possessions and Privileges, and for the future be regarded as the King's Subjects, being they were so by Conquest : And farther, that all the Churches and Convents should be preserved.

This Matter agreed on, I demanded until such Time as the Governor march'd out, which could not be in some Days, that they should deliver me up the Gates, which they did, and I ordered the Grenadiers to it. I had regulated what every Man, according to his Condition was to carry out with him in Silver for their Subsistence; to which, that I might not be imposed upon, I had added this Condition, that I reserved to my self the Liberty of searching the Men and Baggage at the Gate. The Governor sent to desire I would permit, out of Courtesie, (which was the Expression) the principal Officers, and some other considerable Persons that I permitted to follow him, the double of what was stipulated. This amounted unto 2000
Crowns

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Crowns a Head ; but these being a small Number, acquiesced to it, and was convinc'd by the Fervency of their Acknowledgments, that it was really necessary to them.

It was of great Consequence to me, that those who were allow'd to retire where they pleas'd, after the Garrison was march'd out, should remain until they were obliged to reveal what Sums they had in their Houses ; therefore I was very exact in my Measures, that no Body might escape : In the mean time several Officers went freely up and down the City ; and *Du Casse*, whom I had declared Governor, that they might believe I designed to keep the City, took upon him to deliver to some People Certificates, that were not Pass-ports, yet had some Resemblance to them, by which those People passed the Gates, the Officers of the Guard believing it was my Order. I do believe he had no ill Intention in it, and I did attribute that Manner of acting to the Kindness he ever affected to shew to the *Spaniards* ; yet common Report did not forbear saying, that he got considerable Sums ; which I did not believe. However, I would not have it thought, that I tolerated his Conduct ; therefore I forbid him the Continuance of it : And this Order so much displeas'd him, that he never came afterwards to me.

The Governor delay'd his Departure all that he could ; but at length I acquainted him, That he must positively march out upon the Sixth, and that on the same Day I would enter at the Head of the Troops, which was accordingly executed. The Count *Ugnez de los Rois*, follow'd with his Garrison, being list'd Men, to the Number of about 2800, march'd out through a Lane of our Soldiers and Seamen, (whom I had order'd on Shoar to enlarge our Number) *Buccaniers*, Inhabitants of the Coast

Coast, and Negroes. We two were upon our Horses, and having saluted me with his Sword, after some Expressions of Civility, he continued his Way with the City Colours, and two of the four Cannon allowed him, not having Equipage convenient for exporting of the others; even these were the smallest, and drawn by Men.

These People were narrowly search'd as they came out; but when I was informed of their Number, which was almost equal to ours; and perceiving that this Search would bring the Night upon us, before we could dispatch them, I was afraid least the Danger of losing a little Money should occasion some Disorder when it was dark; so I sent my Orders to the Gates to hasten their March, without delaying of it by a Search, which produced little; and the Garrison all marched out before Sun-set. It was not without a great deal of Trouble that I continued upon my Horse, to receive the Salute of the Governor; but that being pass'd, I was oblig'd through the great Pain of my Wound, to get into my Chair, wherein I was used to be carried; in this Condition, and in the midst of the Guards Marine, who were cloathed alike, I went (preceded by a Battalion of Grenadiers) to take Possession of the City.

I was well assured there was Silver in *Carthage*; but the Difficulty was how to get it: The worst that could happen to those in Possession of it, was the Loss of it, when we had discover'd it; it was therefore necessary to search all the Houses: But by whom could it be done? With what Surety that the best Part should remain undiscover'd? The Number of Officers was not great enough, to disperse them into all the necessary Places; and if I would not have left any Thing, it must have required me above six Months Time. In this Perplexity I be-thought myself of this Expedient: I publickly declar'd

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clar'd and order'd it to be set up in the principal Places, That I would give the Tenth to the Proprietors, of whatsoever they honestly brought me; and a Tenth to them that should inform me, of any Persons that did not declare their Effects. To these Promises I join'd my Threats of punishing them for formal Disobedience.

The Hopes of preserving a Part of what was otherwise all in Danger to be lost; the Fear of Neighbours, and ill Friends, who at the same time had the Opportunity of profiting and being troublesome, induc'd them all to be ingenuous in the Matter; which was done with so much Forwardness, that *Tilleul*, who was charg'd with the Treasure, was not able to weigh the Silver fast enough.

The Convents only were of the Opinion, that they were exempted from this Search, under the Article of the Capitulation, that they should be preserv'd; by this Means they quietly kept both their own Money, and what was trusted to them. I order'd that Article to be explain'd to them, to the End that they might know, that the Preservation of the Convents, consisted in not permitting them to be destroy'd; but as to the Money, I had in formal Terms, reserv'd that to myself; otherwise they might have got together all the Riches of the City into their Houses, to have depriv'd me of it. Notwithstanding these Reasons, several of them continued so obstinate, and among the rest, Father *Grenelli* a Jesuit, the Guardian and Procurator of *Cordileers*: that I was forced to have them secured, and to threaten them with worse Usage. The Rector of the Jesuits obey'd, and brought about twenty thousand Crowns in Gold, that he found in the Chamber of Father *Grenelli*, and about as much for the whole House besides; and then desired that I would order the House to be every-where visited,
by

by which Conduct he engaged me to release his Religious. So soon as the *Cordeliers* perceived that the *Buccaniers* were brought, who have a particular Talent at discovering hidden Treasures, they protested, they were ready to reveal all they had, so the *Buccaniers* retired; but when they were gone, the Reverend Fathers fell into their first Silence: In short, I resolv'd to charge the Captains with the care of searching the religious Houses, to the End that their Presence might preserve all necessary Order and Reservedness. This Search produced enough to make Satisfaction for the Trouble it gave us; and in Regard to the Churches, prevented even the Appearance of the Profanation. After I had severely commanded them not to touch any of the sacred Vessels, or any thing appertaining to the Sacrifice, I order'd our Chaplains to gather up what was only for the Decoration of the Churches. Father *Paul* a *Dominican*, who hath (by I know not what Authority) given himself a sort of a Mission among the *Buccaniers*; and usually living upon the Coast had followed the Army, had put himself among our Chaplains; aided with a mighty Zeal to execute his Orders, which seem'd to him sufficiently just, in relation to other Convents, but when he was to go to the *Dominicians*, supported with the credit of *Du Casse*, he thought to have prevented this Visit; but seeing there was no great Notice taken first of his threats, nor afterwards of his Prayers, was then transported with Horrour at the Profanation, and came running to pronounce upon me, from God Almighty, the Anger of Heaven; yet they did not forbear going on with the Business.

Altho' the Silver was brought in great abundance to the Contadore, that is, the Town-house, where I had my Quarters, yet we did not receive, by much

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much, what we might have expected. We had scarce got to the Coast of *St. Martha*, which I had been told was a Desert, but they were acquainted with it at *Carthagena*; and being likewise inform'd by three several Expresses from the King of *Spain*, of all Particulars, they were amply acquainted with my Project, my Forces, and, in a manner, the Time I should get thither; so they began to stir themselves upon that very Alarm. All the Women of any Quality, with their Jewels, the Num, and what was worst of all, 110 Mules laden with Gold, went out in four Days time; they retired to *Monpos*, a Town forty Leagues from thence; and although we had not miscarried in our first Descent to attempt *Nostre Dame de la Pouppe*, yet we could not have got thither until the greatest Part of those Treasures was gone. However, the Honour which his Majesty's Arms acquired in this occasion, besides near upon eight or nine Millions that could not escape us, comforted us for the Loss of the rest.

There is, in the Year, one intemperate Season, that never misses this Part of the *Indian Coast*, and it seemed, as if the great Rains, and Thunder, which are the Forerunners of it, had for a time desisted, to afford us the Opportunity of taking *Carthagena*; for no sooner were we in possession of it, but the Air immediately became infected: Eight hundred Men, in six Days time, were seized with a contagious Distemper, of whom the greatest Part died; and in a little time we were scarce able to receive into the Hospital, which was with much Expedition established, the great number that was brought from all Parts; every Day we were informed of some melancholy Example; all Ideas of Triumphs and Treasures, were effaced by those of Sickness and Mortality. In short, if the Distemper had continued with this Rigour, I must have

have beheld my inevitable Ruin in the fairest Port of the world, and no Enemy near me ; not only have lost the fruits of all our Labours, but likewise the Squadron entrusted to me.

There was a Report spread about, the Author of it I did not find out until some Days afterwards, that I could not carry back the King's Ships without making use of the *Buccaniers* ; who being accustomed to these Climates, were no more infected with the Unhealthiness of the Air, than the Natives that are very rarely touch'd with it. In this Condition *Du Casse*, that concealed his spite at *Hibimani*; where he was retired, sent to me by his Major a Writing, insinuating, that his Colony was in danger of being destroyed, in case the Enemies should attempt a Descent there, which was no ways to be doubted ; that he demanded of me the Forces I had drawn from thence ; and in case of Refusal, he thereby made me responsible for all Accidents. I answered by the same way, that his Colony was as much recommended to me, as it had been to him : that concurring to his Sentiments as to that matter, I did consent, whatsoever Inconveniency might attend the weakening of myself by his Departure, that he might return with three parts of his *Buccaniers*, all the Inhabitants, and part of the Negroes ; and that what I kept with me would therefore be too inconsiderable for the Coast to suffer by it: This Answer, which I designed with Sincerity, happened to be contrary to what he expected ; he did not imagine I could have taken that Resolution, thinking, by the Report spread about, to have made me so well comprehend the occasion I should have for the *Buccaniers*, as to have determined myself against their return ; but seeing my firmness, he began to be more compliant, and better disposed, without speaking of going away : and thereby plainly shewed

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shewed us, what sort of Interest detained him at *Carthagena*. As the Silver was brought in, so it was immediately carried on Board the King's Ships; upon which he employ'd *Daunou* to acquaint me, that the *Buccaniers* were disgusted, that I did not call some of them to be Witnesses of what passed at the Contadore; and proposed to have me admit some Body from them. I found so much Insolence in this Proposition, that I suspected from whence it proceeded: I told *Daunou*, that if he happened to charge himself with any more such Commissions, I would make him repent it. I was at that instant informed, that some of the *Buccaniers*, contrary to my Prohibition of pillaging Houses, had broke through the Roof of a House, and stole some Merchandizes: I took my Guards, and went through all the Quarters of the City, resolved to make an Example of those who fell into my Hands; but they were all retired to the Posts assigned them, where they received all the Threats I made them with a most profound Submission: Moreover, I was not so ill served by my Spies; as not to be informed, that the seditious Discourses they sometimes held, upon the Silver being carried on Board the King's Ships, was inspired into them, by People wholly abandoned to their own Interest, who took all Opportunities to express their own Thoughts with the Tongues of the *Buccaniers*.

I was not so much a Stranger to the *Buccaniers* Courage, as to apprehend any manner of Attempt from that part; but a Rumour being underhand whisper'd, that they had a mind to pillage the Contadore, to secure the share they pretended to of the Booty; I was apprehensive, lest they might force me to punish them so, that I should not be able to expect any farther Service from them, and I might possibly have occasion for their

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assistance on Board the King's Ships, in my return to *France*. Upon this I proceeded upon a Method which seemed most likely to satisfy them, without engaging me to an unbecoming Condescension: I liberally recompensed such of the *Buccaniers* as were wounded, and gave more to the lam'd; there being so few of the one, or the other, that I could not thereby much prejudice the Interests of the Armament; I ordered very considerable Gratifications to their Captains, and some others that had distinguished themselves; I thought by the kindness I shewed to *Du Casse*, and his Adherents, which were so excessive, that I am ashamed to own it; I thought, I say, to have engaged them to have made no farther Pretensions; but I was surpriz'd to find, that by his Calculation of the eight Millions, he reckoned two of them belong'd to the *Buccaniers*; and of these two Millions, he esteem'd himself sure of one; for he shares with them as Captain General, as first Captain of each Frigate, as Proprietor of the Frigats of which he lends some to them, and lets them have others belonging to the King, which with divers Pretexts he detains upon the Coasts, at exorbitant Interest. When I was made acquainted with the Particulars, I resolv'd with my Authority and Diligence to extricate myself out of this Affair: but this Diligence was the difficult matter, a great part of the Equipage necessary in a Siege, which we had brought from the Fleet, was yet ashore, the Distempers deprived me of half my Men, and I had scarce got on board half of the Silver. The Brass Cannons of *Carthage* were yet on the Ramparts; I entreated the *Buccaniers* to undertake this Work, which they refus'd, and I was informed they had not only resolv'd not to work, but neither to make Watch or Ward until they were put into possession of their Share of the Booty. I shew'd no Concern at this time, but pre-
vailing,

vailing by dint of Money upon the small number I had in a condition of working, to use their utmost Efforts, I got on board my Squadron all the Cannon of *Carthagena*, all that remained of what was brought on Shore; and part of the Bastions being already thrown down, on the 25th of *May* the Powder was put to the other Mines; I re-embark'd all my Troops and myself, leaving *Du Casse*, his Officers, and *Buccaniers*, in the City; I acquainted both the one and the other, that if they pillaged the least of the Houses I had mark'd, I would instantly fire their Frigates: They were too well laden to suffer them to be exposed to the Effects of my Threats, for having resolved not to bring any Merchandizes on board the King's Ships, that I might be in a better condition of Defence, I did permit the *Buccaniers* to take what belonged not to the Inhabitants that remained in the Town. *Du Casse* wrote me word that he would answer for the Obedience of the *Buccaniers*; adding withal, that if their conduct was any ways to be blamed, it proceeded from the Severity which was used to them, in not letting them know what they were to expect of the Booty. He might have said with more truth, that it was his own Inquietude; and in reality for some days past he had continually complained against the embarking of all the Silver, which he said they could not tell how to get from the King's Ships; but yet that he could not believe I would deprive him of any thing that so justly belonged to him, having engaged myself by Writing to let the *Buccaniers* divide Man for Man with the Seamen of the King's Ships. He had a great deal of Reason to insist upon this Writing, which was what I ever designed to have observ'd; but when I understood that by his calculation two of the eight Millions belonged to him, I was surprized at his Meaning, believing him informed, as every body else was, that

what appertained to the Seamen of the King's Ships, and consequently to the *Buccaniers*, whom I had received upon these express'd terms, was the Tenth of the first Million, and the thirtieth of all the others; which his Majesty had been pleased to grant to the said Men on board his Ships, to excite them to do well, and as a Recompense for their Services, as it was explained in the conditions upon which his Majesty had consented to this Armament. At length, altho' *Du Tilleul* was Night and Day employed in the Receipt and Embarking of the Silver, and the infinite Particulars appertaining to a great Squadron, had not the time to examine his Books, and consequently we could not exactly know what Silver there was; yet I so press'd him to make an Estimate of the whole Affair, to satisfy *Du Casse*, and his Cabal, what did belong to them, that he made out the Account and signed it.

Upon the 29th I sent this Account to *Du Casse*, who, upon my reiterated Orders that I had sent him, was at last embark'd with his *Buccaniers*, and come down pretty near to the Fort of *Bocachica*; below which was the whole Squadron, except the *Scepter*, who through the Ignorance of the Pilots, was got between two Banks, upon which she had struck, and had not then got clear of them.

Du Casse was extreemly surpriz'd upon reading of the Account, wherein he saw that his, and the *Buccaniers* Share, amounted only to about 40000 Crowns. He reckon'd that the whole would have been divided into four equal Parts, and he being very near a Fourth of the Army, one of these Parts would consequently fall to his Share: But when he opened his Eyes, and saw that dividing Man for Man with the King's Ships, signified sharing what appertain'd to the said Ship's Companies, but not what appertained to the King, and the Armatures; and when it appear'd, that the Part of the
Ships

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Ships Companies consisted in the Tenth of the first Million, and the thirtieth of the others; of which, the fourth that might belong to him, amounted only to 40000 Crowns, He fell into such a Rage, that not considering, that the leaving his Government, without a Permission from Court, and upon a particular Interest, was by all manner of Laws, a criminal Action; yet he resolved to steer for *France*; probably to demand Justice of himself, for being mistaken; for as to any thing else, there cannot appear any Pretence of Complaint. I must acknowledge I was a long time before I could comprehend, that his Misapprehension, should carry him so far, as to imagine, that the Credit of so many People was used, much Address employ'd, great Sums of Money collected and expended, and so long a Voyage undertaken, to give the Fourth of what it produced, to the Governor of *St. Domingo*, and a Troop of *Banditti*; who without being at any Charge, and only for about six Weeks, at least the greatest Part of them, idle Spectators of a great Action; methinks Justice seems so repugnant to such a Thought, that *Du Casse* cannot be excus'd entertaining it. By allowing a Subsistence, and Share, as I did to this Rabble, they received too much Honour, especially being joyn'd in the Division with the Companies of the King's Ships, whose continual Service, which they render to the King and the State, so gloriously distinguish them from that base Kind of Life that the others lead. Moreover, I do not see what Reply can be made to this Argument: If they are the King's Subjects, they are order'd to serve in this Enterprize, upon which his Majesty did not declare there should be any Distinction in Favour of them; according to the Orders, the whole Strength of the Colony was to join the Forces I brought from *France*; and if they did not, I was to treat them as Rebels: And I was much in the Wrong, to as-

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sociate them to the Consideration that was promised to the King's faithful Subjects.

When I was getting under Sail, to come out of *Cartbagena*, I was forc'd to set on Fire the Bomb-Galliot, her Masts and Hulk were so shatter'd, that she was not in a Condition of going to Sea. I left also the *Providence* Brigantine, (of whose Company there was not one Man capable of Service) with a *Buccanier*-Captain, until farther Order. The necessity I was in, of dismounting some Ship, to afford some Assistance to others, by dividing of her Company amongst them, had engaged me to fire the *Christ* Ship, if *Du Casse*, to whom it was necessary I should give a Ship, to transport his People to the *French* Cape, had not been contented with that; which he arm'd as well as he could, to carry back the *Buccaniers*, Inhabitants, and Negroes, to *St. Domingo*.

On the 30th I was taken so very ill with the Distemper, that all that I could do, before I fell into a Condition that deprived me of my Intellect, was to acquaint *Levy*, that I committed the Care of the Squadron to him; and that he should steer his Course for *Cape Tiburon*, according to the Resolution he knew I had taken, to return thence to *France*, without touching then at *Petit Guaves*, where, as I was inform'd, the Air was not affected less than at *Cartbagena*, by which the rest of our Men would have infallibly perish'd: From that time, I order'd nothing that pass'd; but the Account that follows, *Levy*, and the Major-General, gave me in Writing, as likewise by Word of Mouth.

Upon the last of the Month of *May*, completing the Ruin of the Fort of *Bocachica*, where we had some Days been at work, *Daunou*, after many fruitless Attempts to speak with me, went to them, and acquainted them, that the *Buccaniers* being

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being enraged at the small part I gave them of the Booty, had proposed to board and plunder the *Scepter*; but that afterwards they were come to a Resolution, to return and plunder *Carthageria*: And in reality, they perceived at that Instant, the greatest part of their Frigates making into the Port, to sail to it: He said farther, that they had passed under the Stern of the *Pontchartrain*, where *Du Casse* was on board, to whom they had declared their Design; and, that he had exhorted them, not to commit such an Infraction of the Treaty upon which the City surrendered; that he had likewise sent his Major to endeavour to dissuade them from it; that for his own part, it gave him so much trouble, that he desired only a hundred Seamen, with which he should think himself strong enough to prevent their Designs on the City.

All the Squadron was out at Sea, excepting the *Scepter*, who was something nearer to them; but in such a Condition by reason of the Distemper among the Seamen, that we were very far from being able to make this Detachment; and altho' they might have been, yet how could it be possible, for a hundred Men, several Hours behind the *Buccaniers*, to prevent them from landing? The ridiculous and true Motive of this Proposition was palpably apparent; and accordingly *Levy*, and the Major General, express'd their Opinion very freely to *Daunou*, whose Passion increased upon the Contempt they shewed him. Yet *Levy*, desirous to apply all the Remedy that was to be used, made all the haste he could on Board the Frigate of *Macary*, being nearest the Fort, and longer in getting ready than the other, and by that able to be reached, and by his Authority he made her come to an Anchor again, believing, that afterwards she would not dare but to come out with the *Scepter*; yet this Ship being got through the passage, the Frigate

was no longer afraid of being stopped by her Cannon; *Macary* having for some time followed us, suddenly tacked about, and stood after the rest of his Companions, after having conferr'd with *Du Casse*, with whom he stay'd for most Part of the Night.

It looks as if *Du Casse* was entirely bereft of his Sense, in more carefully covering his Connivance with the *Buccaniers*, in their violating of an Authentick Capitulation. The *Pontchartrain*, aboard which he was, and the *Malouin* Frigate, that he could have commanded, were both of them among the *Buccaniers* Frigates, when they resolved upon this Course: Why did he not go after them, on all Sides firing on them? yet shooting so high, or so low, as not to do them any Damage? He might have made it to have been believed, that he was no Accomplice in this Perfidiousness, and at the same time have justified to the World, that it was not by my Orders committed, being it would then have appeared, that it was done by Mutiniers; whereas this scandalous Herd being, in Appearance under my Command, as formerly, I am become responsible to the King of *Spain*; who might, if I should ever happen to fall into his Power, with some Justice, use me as a Breaker of Treaties: For what appears in Sum of this Action, is a Capitulation manifestly broken by the King's Army. It was plain to us, *Du Casse* only thought of making the best of his Way to get first of all into *France*, quitting the Squadron without Leave, and even without the Knowledge of any one, he brought to all the Sails of the *Pontchartrain*, and we heard no more of him until the Fourth of *June*. The Squadron left *Boccachica* the First, after having disengaged themselves of the Misfortune which the *Scepter* and *Fort* had, in striking the first Night after their coming out, upon two Banks, three Leagues

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Leagues from the Coast, whereby they had like to have been lost. The Squadron after this stood for Cape *Tiburon*, when a Vessel from *Petit Guaves* brought us a Packet; he met *Du Casse*, to whom he had likewise delivered one, which was a Duplicate of that he had for me: They came from *Robert*, Intendant of the Isles, who had dispatch'd away a Bark to inform me, That upon the twenty-seventh of *April*, thirteen *English Men of War*, of which eight were capital Ships, were arrived at *Barbadoes*, where there were several others; that it was not to be doubted but this was the Squadron, (as he had been informed from *France*) that the Enemies was to send after me, to prevent the Execution of my Designs; that this Squadron was not to make any Stay at *Barbadoes*, upon which I was to take my Measures. The Day before I left *France*, I was advised, that to whatever Place I went, Admiral *Nevill*, with fifteen *English Ships*, was to follow me, so soon as they knew the Course I steer'd. These Informations concurring witheach other, we did not doubt of the Arrival of that Squadron in the *Indian Seas*, as likewise that we must meet them: For their Course, of consequence, if they were informed at *Jamaica*, of our Success at *Carthagena*, as it was very probable, would be to expect us at Cape *Tiburon*, there not being any Likelihood that we should return to *France*, without passing upon that Coast to take in fresh Provisions, and leave the Men I had taken from thence. I was then a little recovered from the Extremity of my Illness, and upon this News I held the first Council of this Expedition; there was no Diversity of Opinions, all the Captains agreeing that we ought to steer for the Gulf of the Streights of *Babama*; that we ought to supply our Want of Water, by the most extraordinary good Management of what we had; that there would be an Opportunity

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of taking in more upon the Coast of *Accadia*, which was the most probable Way of meeting that Enemy, who could not be gone to expect us there, knowing we had a more convenient Passage upon many Accounts. Upon this Resolution we alter'd our Course that we were steering to *Tiburon*, for that of *Babama*, which we continued until the Sixth.

It may here be observed, how little one ought to depend upon the severest Reasons, when Fortune is in the Scale : The Course of Cape *Tiburon*, our Ruin, in appearance, was free of all Danger, the Enemy pass'd very wide of it ; and the way of *Babama*, so sure in our Reckoning, carried us into that between *Jamaica* and *Cartagena*, which they then steered, and occasioned us to fall into the middle of them in the Night, between the sixth and the seventh. Some Hours before Day, I was informed, that from time to time, they perceived Fires made in a Ship behind us ; this Signal not being to be made by any of ours, we began to believe, it was some advanced Frigate of the Enemies, who informed them by her Fires, that she followed us, and that by keeping after her, they could not lose us. There was then no other Resolution to be taken, than to wait for the Day ; we did not know our situation, in relation to that of the Enemies, so by any other manner of working, we should have run the same Risque, to have fallen in with them, as to have steered clear of them. The first appearance of Day presented us with the Image of an inevitable and dismal Misfortune ; we at first reckoned twenty Sail, then twenty five, a little afterwards twenty nine, and among them a Ketch. Eight of these Ships seemed to be of an equal force to the *Scepter*, ten or twelve others, with the *St. Lewis*, the *Furieux*, and our other Ships of that Rate, the rest with our Frigates from thirty six to forty four Guns ; half of this Fleet was to Windward

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ward of our Squadron, and wanted but little of Cannon shot of us; some others were exactly on our Lee; and the rest, which were the great Ships before-mentioned, were in our Sterns, a little below us.

Our great Misfortune was not only to have eight and twenty Ships against our seven Ships, and three Frigates; but as an addition, our unfortunate Squadron was so strangely weakened by the Mortality, that she was rather a general Hospital for the rest of the Officers and Seamen, insomuch that when we went to put ourselves into a condition of making some sort of a resistance, by the paleness of our Faces, and the weakness of our Motion and Stirring, it look'd as if the Hospital of *Paris* was brought under Arms. To give an Idea of the Condition we were in, I need only say, that the other Ships were possibly in a much worse Condition than the *Scepter*, who out of her Complement of 700 Men, had not above 350 that were able to take Arms, or work our Artillery. What an alteration for me in particular! My Expedition had acquired some Honour to the King's Arms, and would have produced considerable Advantages to my Armatures. The taking of *Carthageria* seem'd to have acquired me a pleasing Distinction; and being enriched, I had, at my Return, a prospect of Glory and Pleasures, all which now passed like a shadow; and I had continually before my Eyes the destruction of a flourishing Squadron, which I had the Honour to be entrusted with; the Displeasure of the King and his Ministers, in the Circumstances of this Loss, which not only deprived his Majesty of so many Ships, but so much advantag'd his Enemies, and carried them those Riches, that were in a manner ready to have entered *France*; the Grief of my Armatures, for whom all was lost by this unhappy Re-encounter; and my continual

Despair in the Remainder of a Life, which after a long Imprisonment, I must have passed in Obscurity, if the Report of my bad Fortune had not rendered me remarkable.

These were my Reflections, when having acquainted all my People that we ought to die like Men of Honour, I had two occasions of being comforted; the first was, the Officers protesting to me, with an Air of Assurance, that the Ships should be defended, whilst any of them were living; and the Ships Company entered into the same Sentiment; insomuch that the sick, at least those not at Extremity, shewed themselves as forward as the others; so I beheld Resolution on all sides of me. The other was, so soon as the signal for the Order of Battle was made, the *St. Lewis*, *Furieux*, *Vermandois*, *St. Michael*, and the *Mutine*, came up so fast, and fell so well into their Stations, that they allowed us no occasion of doubting of their having the same Resolution with ours; the *Fort*, the *Apollo*, *L' Avenant*, and *Marin*, did not obey the signal, but kept to Windward, where they chanced to be; the Captains of the two last were sick, and I had taken from them the greatest part of their Men, to strengthen the great Ships, and had designed them for Fire-ships; but not having time to fit them up for it, nor to fetch away their sick, they were become altogether incapable of any service, so I could no ways wonder they did not fall in their ordered Station; as to the *Fort* and the *Apollo*, I was apprehensive that the first had lost so many of her Men, that she was not able to make any sort of a Fight; the other being her Second, did believe, as it is the custom, that she was not to abandon her Flag, *Du Buisson*, by the Death of the Viscount *Coetlogon*, then carrying the Flag of Rear-Admiral. At this Instant one of the Enemies ships having fired a Gun upon

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upon the Fly-boat, called, *The City of Amsterdam*, who was a good way a-stern of us, she struck sail, and surrendered; they found a great many sick Men on board her, and a very considerable Quantity of Ammunition and Provision. The only *Traversier* left me had the same Destiny with the Fly-boat, with whom she was. But while these things pass'd, we found that half of their Fleet, who in a little time were got within reach of us, were unwilling to engage, until the others to Leeward could come to the Action; yet being unwilling to hand in their sails to stay for the others behind, they kept themselves in a Line, and permitted us to get before them. We perceived by their working that we were yet to have some Hours of Quiet, and none of us being strong enough to support a long Action, we repos'd ourselves in Expectation of the Event. About Two o' Clock in the Afternoon the Major-General came to me, and told me, there was no farther Hopes of Delays, that the advanced part of the Enemies Fleet was got within Cannon-shot, and to Windward of our Squadron, and their great Ships exact a broadside of our Lee. This being so, the Signal general for the Order of Battle was given, without Loss of Time; I added to it the particular Signal of the *Fort*, to bring her to her Station; but she only did so much as was necessary to let us know that she knew her signal, and then standing to windward, she confirm'd me in the Thoughts I had in the Morning.

The Affair was sufficiently serious to keep us attentive: We observ'd first of all, that the Ships which might have attack'd us, chose rather to slacken their way, and fell from us; with much regarding of them I was partly of the Opinion, that it was by going larger away than we who kept close to the Wind, that their great ships had gain'd so much

much upon us. The fear of deceiving myself in this Matter, made me consult all those that I reckoned able to inform me; and they all being of the same Opinion, I easily penetrated into the Thoughts of the *English* Admiral, who reckoned there was no safety for me, but to go before the Wind, for the Streights of *Bahama*; so he proposed to get so much a-head of me, as to hinder my Passage; but I perceived at the same time that he might be mistaken in his working; because instead of sailing parallel to the Course we steer'd, his coming up opened an Angle, which in truth brought him into my Traverse, but in reality at a greater distance than when he was a-stern of us; therefore by tacking about I should be at a greater distance than I was before; besides, I was sure to get something by it.

I was certain, that the Ships which might have attack'd me, durst not do it, and therefore it would not much trouble me if I did find them in my Passage. Upon this I sent the *Marine* Frigate to order all the Ships of the Squadron to tack about precisely at the shutting in of Night; that I would light no Fires, nor make any signal, and that they should go as close haul'd to the Wind as it was possible. At the time appointed we went about, but we were too near the Enemy to conceal our working from them; one of their small Frigates being likewise got in among us, I was obliged to give him some Cannon-shot from the *Scepter*, and the *Furieux*, who was something nearer to him; with which he stood so corrected, that we saw him no more afterwards. But the different signals which the Enemies Ships made by Fires to each other, assured us, that they who were most advanced, communicated to them behind what pass'd, so we doubted not of our being followed. However, the next
Day

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Day, so soon as it was light, we found the success of our working: for we could only reckon fourteen Ships, who followed us in a Line one after the other, and not so nigh by far as the Day before; but at the same time we miss'd the *Fort, Apollo, L'Avenant, Marin*, and the *Diep* Fly-boat: We having not heard any Cannon-shot, we could not think they were taken; however, it was not until the next Day that I was eased of this Apprehension, by Report of the *Mutine* that rejoined me, acquainting me, that when she carried the Orders for the Ships to go about, those we miss'd being considerably to windward of us, who had by much the Wind of the Enemies when we tack'd, it was much easier for them to get clear, by keeping on their Way, than in following me: *Simonet* added, that the *Fort* had lost her Fore-top-mast, but having seen all the Enemies Ships standing as we did, at a great distance from each other; there was no Reason to fear that ours were pursued.

This separation being not to be remedied, my Thoughts were wholly employed to the Preservation of the rest of the Squadron, and to make use of the advantage I had got; I continu'd the same Board, until within twenty Leagues of *Carthagena*, where we were on the 9th of the same Month of *June*. In the Evening I made the Signal of holding the contrary Course; and when it was quite dark, I acquainted the other Ships, with three Guns, that they were to steer West, directly before the Wind: There was then but three of the Enemies Ships that kept within sight of us, and they were a great way from us; they could not imagine what this Signal mean'd, and so kept on the same Board. In the mean while, we ran this Night 22 Leagues, and the next Day found ourselves perfectly out of all Business on that side. But to one
Trouble

Trouble ended, commonly comes another : It was not possible for us to reach *Bahama*, by holding through the usual passage, that lies between *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, and which is not at all dangerous ; but we were oblig'd to take that to the Southward, terrible for the Shelves, among which we were forc'd to pass, altho' we were altogether ignorant of them ; however, supplying the want of Experience, with our utmost Care and Diligence, we escap'd all the Rocks, and having doubled the Cape of *St. Anthony*, found ourselves on the 26th in the entrance of the Streight of *Bahama* ; where we understood by a small *English* Vessel, who fell into our Squadron, coming from *Jamaica*, laden with Indigo and Cotton, to the value of about 25000 Crowns, that the *English* Fleet we had met was commanded by *Nevil*, and was compos'd, at *Barbadoes*, of 13 ships that came from *England*, of three that were in the Island, and eight *Hollanders*, of which four were very large Ships, and came out of the *Streights*, who made in all 24 Men of War, to whom were belonging four Fire-ships, and a Ketch : Which was exactly the Number we had seen ; their Intention was to have stayed 24 Hours only at *Jamaica*, but the contrary Winds had detained them eight Days ; that their ships were in good Health, but very ill mann'd, the greatest of them not having above 350 Men, and those of between 50 and 60 Guns, 150 Men : This last Circumstance diminish'd the admiration I was in, that none of them who could have attack'd me, had not begun the Fight by engaging of me, until such time as the rest could get up to them ; it may be, they were ignorant of the ill state we were reduc'd to by sickness, or possibly they did not give Credit to what they might have known by the *Amsterdam* Flyboat ; for the Countenance that we shewed them,

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them, was no ways answerable to what she could have told them.

Having detach'd away the *Mutine-Frigate* for *St. Domingo*, with the Forces, Inhabitants, and Negroes, that were on Board that part of the Squadron then with me, we steer'd on our Course; nothing material happen'd to us, excepting an Error in our Reckoning: For we were got to the Eastward of *Newfoundland*, when we thought we had been to the Westward; which oblig'd us to go into *Conception-Bay* for Water, that we design'd to have taken at *Plaicentia*: We came to an Anchor on the Fourth of the Month of *August*, having only six Days Water on Board. The Captain of a small Vessel coming from *Barbadoes*, which we took on the second Instant, did us very good Service in our Anchorage, which we did not know; but this Vessel which the *Vermandois* mann'd, happen'd to lose the Squadron in a Mist; as did also another small Vessel, that we found abandon'd at Sea, upon which we sent likewise some Men, and since we never heard more of them. The great Want of some fresh Provisions, oblig'd me to send the Captain of the Prize, taken at *Babama*, to propose to some Fisher-men, retir'd to the bottom of the Bay, called *La Carbonniere* to supply me with what Cattle they could, and to lend me their Boats to take in Water; upon which I promis'd to do them no harm. They answer'd me by the same Messenger, That they had scarce any fresh Provisions; but they would give me what they had, and accommodate me with their Boats; provided, I gave them Hostages. The assistance was not considerable enough to accept it upon this Condition; so I resolv'd to burn a dozen, or fourteen, pitiful Houses that were there, after I had taken in my Water.

In the mean time I was informed by a Prisoner, that there were eight *English* Men of War at *St. John's*, eight Leagues from us: sent thither for the Re-establishment of that Colony, ruined by the Governor of *Placentia*; that these ships, whereof two carried 70 Guns each, and the rest from 50 to 60, had brought 13 Foot-Companies, commanded by *Gibson*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Portsmouth*, who were to stay there; that *Norris* commanded the Fleet; and that in a Council of War, held at our Arrival, it was resolved to stand out to fight us. This News made us double our Diligence to get in the Water we wanted, and to prepare ourselves not only to fight the *English*, but to seek them out. To this purpose we got under sail; on the 7th of *August* we stood to *La Carbonniere*, to burn the little Houses; but the Weather being so bad, that we could not get to them without danger, besides the inconsiderableness of the place, rendering this Action not sufficiently important, to consume away time upon it, I took the Party to go before *St. John's*, to attack the Enemies, if they had been out; but apparently, some reflection of the Force and Largeness of our Ships, had prevented them from coming out, and the Port was so streight, as to render any Attempt upon them impracticable; I was contented to shew myself, and offer them Battle, which seeing they did not answer, we steer'd for the Coast of *France*, upon the Eighth of the same Month of *August*; and on the twenty-fourth of the said Month, in the fourth Degree of Latitude, and --- Longitude, we perceived six Ships cruising exactly in the Course we steer'd. Notwithstanding the Weakness to which we were reduc'd, our Ships not having then by much, one half of our Complement of Men, the Number of
the

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the Enemies, supposing they were so, did no ways occasion us to fear meeting them; besides, this place not being their usual cruizing station, and on the contrary, very common for the *French* Ships; there was a great deal of Appearance that they were such, and many Conveniencies would attend this joyning; so I continued on my Way: But when I came up with them, three of them appeared to be Deck-Ships, the Fourth equall to ours of 64 Guns, a Frigate of 40 Guns, and another small Vessel, that did not bring herself into the Line: whilst we were considering of what Country they were, and had brought ourselves into Order of Battle, with the Wind upon the Beam, being the same Method which they had taken in expecting us, they put forth *English* Colours, contrary to the Custom of that Nation, they did not fire first, altho' we were in less than Cannon-shot. We put forth our Colours, at the same time they shewed theirs; and to do them Justice, it was impossible to make a bolder Working than what they shew'd; little did they guess the Badness of our Condition, nor that the *Scepter*, *St. Lewis*, *Furieux*, *Vermandois*, and *St. Michael*, were reduced to the Weakness of 40 Gun Frigates, not knowing these Circumstances, it must be allowed that they shewed a great deal of Resolution

We were so far advanced, that the Honour of his Majesty's Arms would not permit us to turn back, but rather to make ourselves a Passage; and moreover, that Attempt which would infallibly have discovered our Weakness, would as certainly have encouraged the Enemy, upon whom we came within the reach of a Fusil *Boucaniere*, where we then perceived their Beds and Hammocks to be pass'd from the Forecastle to the Quarter-deck, to cover them from our small Shot; this hindered us

from discerning the space between the Forecastle and Quarter-deck, and occasioned us to believe them three-deck Ships; it was easy to mistake them, there being of those great Frigates of 72 Guns, which have that length, width and depth, so they wanted only some Beams and Planks to unite them; the fourth was something less, and about the Strength of the *Furieux*; the fifth a Frigate of 40 Guns; the Commander was in the midst of his Squadron, and myself also in the Center of his Majesty's Ships, both sides being exactly in a Line, I was only to spring my Looſe to come a-broadſide of him, and upon my ſignal the Fire began, which continued from half an hour after Three, until Seven; and with much more Briskneſs on our ſide, than I could have expected from our Weakneſs; the Enemy, altho' better provided, in my Opinion, ſhewed not altogether ſo much, however they kept as cloſe to the Wind as it was poſſible for them.

At the ſame time the Fight began, they ſet their ſails as we did, that is, ſo as to continue on the Courſe upon which we found them, which was North North Weſt, a very contrary Courſe to what I was to ſteer, and from which I could not depart; ſo I went about in our Line of Battle, to leave the Cape to the Eaſt.

In the Execution of this, the Fire was pretty violent on both ſides; but the Enemies, inſtead of going about, continued their Broadſides, which paſſ'd in a Moment, and we got far enough not to apprehend any farther Damage. In a very little while afterwards, the Enemies went about likewise all at once; yet I was fully perſuaded they would not endeavour to begin the Fight again, by reaſon they continued their lower Sails furl'd as well as we,
who

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who wrought with much Trouble through the Want of Hands to repair the Damage we suffered in our Sails and Rigging: For as to the Men, there were not aboard the *Scepter* above eleven killed and wounded, and in the other Ships yet less in proportion; but the *Vernandois* having lost her Foretop mast, I was extremely troubled, because I did not think her able to get up another; yet she did not only attempt it in the Night, but perfectly accomplished it early the next Day.

We continued our Course all Night, with an easy Sail, and our usual Lights. The next Day we were in a Condition to have begun again, if the Enemy had followed us; which we doubted of in the Night, as not discerning any of their Lights; but it is probable, that they had not less work to repair than we had, so I presume they spent the Night at work, and the next Day we were almost out of sight.

We had done our Business, which was to pass without shame: We had no Advantage to expect from a second Engagement; but on the contrary, many Inconveniences, and one almost inevitable; which was, that the Squadron would perish at Sea for want of Provisions, if any endamaged Ship should considerably detain us. Therefore we kept on our way, and the Enemies followed us until the twenty sixth at Noon, at which time they went about to the other Board.

I cannot refuse making the Officers and Seamen the Acknowledgments I owe them; for they

they did, in this occasion, by much go beyond their Strength; and with the Good-will they express, if our Force had been something less unequal, the Enemies would have had more trouble to have disengaged themselves. We came at last into *Brest*, upon the 29th of *August*, 1697.

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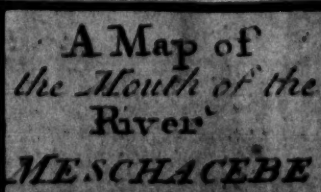
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A
DESCRIPTION
OF THE
English PROVINCE
OF
CAROLANA.
BY THE
SPANIARDS call'd FLORIDA,
AND BY THE
FRENCH, LA LOUISIANE.

V I Z.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>I. A Description of the great and famous River <i>Meschacebe</i>, or <i>Mississipi</i>.</p> <p>II. A Description of the Countries, People, Rivers, Bays, Harbours and Islands, to the East of <i>Meschacebe</i>.</p> <p>III. A Description of the Sea Coast, the large Rivers; their Heads and Courses, to the West of <i>Meschacebe</i>.</p> <p>IV. A Description of the Five great Seas or Lakes of fresh Water.</p> <p>V. A new and curious Discovery of an easy Communication between the River <i>Meschacebe</i> and the SOUTH-SEA,</p> | <p>which separates <i>America</i> from <i>China</i>, by means of several large Rivers and Lakes; with a Description of the said Sea, to the Streights of <i>Uries</i>; as also of a rich and considerable Trade to be carry'd on from thence to JAPAN, CHINA and TARTARY.</p> <p>VI. An Account of the useful Animals, Vegetables, Metals, Minerals, and other rich and valuable Commodities, which this Province naturally produces.</p> <p>VII. An APPENDIX, containing the original Character, &c.</p> |
|---|---|

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THE
PREFACE.



THE ensuing Treatise is, for the most Part, compos'd out of Memoirs, which the present Proprietor of Carolana, my honour'd Father, had drawn from several English Journals and Itineraries taken by his own People, whom he had sent for Discovery of this most noble, pleasant and fertile Province and the Parts adjacent, both by Sea and Land; as well as from the Accounts of other Travellers and Indian Traders,

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ders, who had often pierc'd into and rang'd through the Heart of it, and were Persons of good Understanding and Probity, whose Relations agreeing so well together, tho' mostly Strangers to each other, it is not to be suppos'd, they could conspire to impose Fables and Falsities on the World.

THE vast Trouble and Expence (those Two great Impediments of Publick Good) the said Proprietor has undergone to effect all this, will scarcely be credited; for he not only, at his sole Charge, for several Years, establish'd and kept up a Correspondence with the Governors and Chief Indian Traders in all the English Colonies on the Continent of America, imploy'd many People on Discoveries by Land to the West, North and South of this vast Extent of Ground, but likewise in the Year 1698. he equipp'd and fitted out Two Ships, provided with above Twenty great Guns, Sixteen Patereroes, abundance of Small Arms, Ammunition, Stores and Provisions of all Sorts, not only for the Use of those on Board,
and

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and for Discovery by Sea, but also for building a Fortification, and settling a Colony by Land; there being in both Vessels, besides Sailors and Common Men, above Thirty English and French Volunteers, some Noblemen, and all Gentlemen.

ONE of these Vessels discover'd the Mouths of the great and famous River Meschacebe, or, as term'd by the French, Mississippi, enter'd and ascended it above One Hundred Miles, and had perfected a Settlement therein, if the Captain of the other Ship had done his Duty and not deserted them. They howsoever took Possession of this Country in the King's Name, and left, in several Places, the Arms of Great-Britain affix'd on Boards and Trees for a Memorial thereof.

AND here I cannot forbear taking Notice, that this was the first Ship that ever enter'd that River from the Sea, or that perfectly discover'd or describ'd it's several Mouths, in Opposition to the Boasts and Falsities of the French,

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who in their Printed Books and Accounts thereof, assume to themselves the Honour of both; Providence seeming to reserve the Glory of succeeding in so noble an Enterprize, to the Zeal and Industry of a Private Subject of England, which was Twice in vain attempted by Louis XIV. of France, the most ambitious and powerful Monarch of Europe.

BUT as the perfect Discovery of that great River, its Seven Mouths, and all the Coast of Carolana, on the Bay of Mexico, for at least 14 Degrees of Longitude, was then effected, and most of the Persons who were actually upon it, with their Journals, Drafts and Charts, return'd safe to England, the Proprietor presented a Memorial thereof to his then Majesty King William of Glorious Memory, wherewith He was so well pleas'd and satisfy'd, that in a General Council call'd for that Purpose, he order'd it to be read, and taken into Consideration, Himself, and above Twenty of the Council, who were then present,

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present, unanimously agreeing, that the Design of settling the said Province ought to be speedily encourag'd and promoted.

HIS said Majesty being afterwards more fully convinc'd, that such an Undertaking would greatly tend to the Benefit of the English Nation, and the Security of its Colonies on the Continent of North America, often declar'd, that he would leap over Twenty Stumbling-Blocks, rather than not effect it; and frequently assur'd the present Proprietor, that it should not only receive a Publick Encouragement, but that he would particularly contribute towards it, by sending at his own Cost Six or Eight Hundred French Refugees and Vaudois, to joyn with those English who could be procur'd to begin the Settlement there.

BESIDES divers Noblemen, Gentlemen and Merchants, proffer'd the same. Particularly the Lord Lonsdale, then Lord Privy-Seal, being highly sensible of the great Advantages would redound to the English Nation thereby,

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offer'd to assist the Design with Two Thousand Pounds in ready Mony, or a Ship of Two Hundred Tuns, with One hundred Persons of whatsoever Trades or Employments should be thought most convenient; and to provide them with Provisions, necessary Tools and Instruments, for the Space of One Year; not making the least Capitulation for himself or them, beyond the Grant of a Competent Tract of Land for their Habitation and necessary Subsistence: But the sudden Death of that Lord, and soon after of King William, put a Period, at that Time, to this noble Undertaking.

THE present Proprietor, not long after the Death of that Monarch, did in the subsequent Reign propose the reviving and promoting the aforesaid Enterprize, but the Wars ensuing, which prov'd excessive chargeable, and employ'd the whole Thoughts and Attention of the Ministry, hinder'd the encouraging thereof. Whereupon he desisted from any further Prosecution of that Affair, till a fitter Opportunity

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Oportunity should offer itself, though very sorry his Country had lost so favourable a Conjuncture, when what he had propos'd might have been accomplish'd with much less Trouble and Expence, than after a Peace should be concluded; for he foresaw, and often warn'd the then Ministry, that whensoever that happen'd, the French would certainly endeavour to possess and settle that Country, for Reasons too many and tedious here to relate, as afterwards too manifestly appear'd.

HOWSOEVER as this Colony does most certainly of Right belong to the Crown of Great-Britain, if the first Discovery, Grant, Possession, and other most material Circumstances, may be allow'd to carry any Weight with them, it may be a satisfactory Entertainment, if not a real Service, to the Publick, to attempt a short Description of it in Print, and of the Lands to the Northwards, as far as, and among the Five great Lakes, the Nations of Indians inhabiting therein, and the Lakes themselves, as well as of the useful Animals

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nimals, Vegetables, Mettals, Minerals, and other the Produce thereof; together with an Account of the great River Melchacebe, and the Rivers which increase it both from the East and the West; as likewise a brief Relation of the Coast of this Province, on the Bay of Mexico, and the Rivers, Harbors, and Islands belonging to it; all which, I flatter myself, are more particular and exact than any Thing the French have publish'd relating thereto. The same may be said of the annex'd Map, which no doubt is the best of its Kind extant. By both which the Reader will see, how contiguous this Province lies to our already settled Colonies, which are entirely surrounded by it, and the other Lands to the Northward, by the French call'd Canada or New France, tho' those to the Southward of the great Lakes they most unjustly claim the Property of. For they were, about the Beginning of the Reign of King James II. made over and surrender'd, by the Irocois and their Allies, to the Crown of England,

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the Right and Possession whereof we have ever since asserted and endeavour'd to secure, both by ourselves and the abovesaid Indians our Confederates, who on their Parts, on all Occasions of Difference with the French or their Indians, do for that and other Considerations, demand the good Offices and Protection of the English, who knowing it their Interest, never fail, if the Cause is just, to afford it them: As they did in the Year 1696. When the Count Frontenac Governour of Canada, with several Thousand French and Indians, attack'd the Onondages, One of the Five Nations, and Ravag'd their Country; but on the Approach of Collonel Fletcher Governour of New-York, with some Regular Forces, Militia and Indians, he was forc'd to retire, not without a considerable Loss from those Natives, who constantly attended him in his Retreat, often fell on his Rear, cut off many of his People, and all the Straglers they could meet with.

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THE Five Nations, when summon'd on our two last unfortunate Expeditions against Canada, readily join'd the English Troops under the Command of General Nicholson, with about a Thousand Men; And the rest of them were in Motion in different Parts; some to discover and observe the Posture of the Enemy in their own Country; Others to Scout about the Rivers and Lakes. And they have so great a Reliance on the Friendship and Protection of the English, whom they have ever found and acknowledg'd to be truly Just, Honest and Punctual, in their Treaties and Dealings with them, that during the late War, they not only permitted, but also invited them, to build a Fort in the very heart of their Country and on their Main River, the Gate of which adjoyns to and Opens into One of their Capital Towns or Fortifications, Inhabited by the Mohacks, the chief and most Warlike Nation among them. The English Garrison being a Detachment from the Independent Companies of New-York

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York and Albany, live with them in the strictest Amity, and dayly enter their Castle as the Indians do Our Fort, who constantly supply the Soldiers with Venison, Wild-Fowl, Fish, and other Necessaries in their Way.

FROM these Indians of the Five Nations, the English of New-York, purchase the greatest Part of their Furr and Peltry-Trade, and in Exchange supply them with Duffels, Strowds, Blankets, Guns, Powder, Shot, and other the Manufactures of Great-Britain, at a much easier Rate than the French ever could.

THAT Nation knowing and envying the great Friendship and Commerce the English of New-York cultivate and carry on with these Indians, and being sensible of the mighty Use and Service they are of, not only to that Colony, but to all our other Colonies to the Northward, have on, many Occasions endeavour'd, by all the Artifices imaginable, to draw them over to their Party and Interests, which when
they

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they fail'd in, They have attempted, by Force or Fraud to Extirpate or Subject them: But that cunning and Warlike People, by the Advice and Assistance of the English, have ever prevented their Designs, to whom they continue most incens'd and irreconcilable Enemies; tho' as long as the English have Peace with them, they are persuaded to continue the same.

INDEED during the Reign of King James II. They had certainly been Cut off and exterminated by the French (the English being prohibited, to give them the least Assistance) had not the happy Revolution of King William intervened, and the War with France soon succeeded.

NAY, even Collonel Dungan a Roman Catholick, made Governour of New-York by King James, was at that Time so very sensible of the Ruin intended to the Five Nations our Allies, and in Consequence to the English Plantations, that he order'd the Popish Priests, who were by Leave come into his

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his Government, under pretence of making Profelytes, to depart from thence, because he found their Design was to betray our Colonies to the French, instead of making Converts of the Inhabitants.

THE French, as is related above, have many ways endeavour'd to ruin or distress the Irocois; but as they are well assur'd, Nothing will affect them so much and nearly, as to deprive them of their Fishing and Hunting, which is mostly on the Borders of, and between the Great Lakes, and without which they must Starve, therefore they have attempted to build Forts on the several narrow Passages thereof, and the Rivers which empty themselves thereinto, in order to intercept them, either in their going or returning from those Places; but the Indians have as often prevented the finishing of them, or otherwise oblig'd them to demolish or desert them.

BUT should the French be permitted to establish their projected Communication, between Cape Breton the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence, as far as the
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the Meschacebe, and so downwards to the Bay of Mexico, which will be a mighty Addition and Increase of Territory, Strength and Power to them, It is much to be fear'd, They'l carry their Point one Time or another, and thereby distress and Subject these our Allies, the Consequence of which will not only be very shocking, but of the utmost Concern to the Safety of our Northern Plantations: For if we now, in so great Measure, stand in need of, and depend on them as our Friends, for the Security of our Frontiers, what must we expect, when that Barrier is remov'd, and they become our Enemies; and not only they, but all the Rest of our Friendly Indians to the Southward, which we may of Course depend on.

WE have lately experienc'd the dismal and Tragical Consequences attending a Defection, of only one or two Paltry Nations of Indians, bordering on Carolina, and though other Pretences have been urg'd as the Cause thereof, and were perhaps in some Measure true, yet the French,

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French, since their late Settlements on the Meschacebe and the Bay of Mexico, are violently suspected to have clandestinely fomented and widen'd the Breach, which occasion'd the butchering of so many hundreds of the Inhabitants of that Colony, with the Burnings, Devastations, and almost intire Desolation thereof.

It is well known that the Frontiers of our Colonies are large, naked, and open, there being scarce any Forts or Garrisons to defend them for near Two Thousand Miles. The dwellings of the Inhabitants are scattering and at a Distance from one another; and its almost impossible according to the present Establishment and Scituation of our Affairs there, from the great Number of our Colonies independent on each other, their different Sorts of Governments, Views, and Interests, to draw any considerable Body of Forces together on an Emergency, though the Safety and Preservation, not only of any particular Colony, but of all the English Plantations on the Continent, were never so nearly concern'd. FOR

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FOR, several of these Governments, pretending to or enjoying some extraordinary Privileges, which the Favour of the Crown has formerly granted them, exclusive of others, if their Assistance is demanded or implor'd by any of their distress'd Neighbours, attack'd by Enemies, perhaps in the very Heart of their Settlements, they either by affected Delays, insisting on Punctilios and Niceties, starting unreasonable Objections, and making extravagant Demands, or other frivolous Pretences, purposely elude their just and reasonable Expectations; and by an inactive Stupidity or Indolence, seem insensible of their particular and most deplorable Circumstances, as well as regardless of the General or Common Danger, because they feel not the immediate Effects of it; Not considering their own Security is precarious, since what happens to one Colony to Day, may reach another to Morrow: A Wise Man will not stand with his Arms folded, when his Neighbours House is on Fire.

THE

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THE only Expedient I can at present think of, or shall presume to mention (with the utmost Deference to His MAJESTY and His Ministers) to help and obviate these Absurdities and Inconveniencies, and apply a Remedy to them, is, That All the Colonies appertaining to the Crown of GREAT BRITAIN on the Northern Continent of America, be United under a Legal, Regular, and firm Establishment; Over which, it's propos'd, a Lieutenant, or Supreme Governour, may be constituted, and appointed to Preside on the Spot, to whom the Governours of each Colony shall be Subordinate.

IT is further humbly propos'd, That two Deputies shall be annually Elected by the Council and Assembly of each Province, who are to be in the Nature of a Great Council, or General Convention of the Estates of the Colonies; and by the Order, Consent or Approbation of the Lieutenant or Governour General, shall meet together, Consult and Advise for the Good of the
c whole,

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whole, Settle and Appoint particular Quota's or Proportions of Money, Men, Provisions, &c. that each respective Government is to raise, for their mutual Defence and Safety, as well, as, if necessary, for Offence and Invasion of their Enemies; in all which Cases the Governour General or Lieutenant is to have a Negative; but not to Enact any Thing without their Concurrence, or that of the Majority of them.

THE Quota or Proportion, as above allotted and charg'd on each Colony, may, nevertheless, be levy'd and rais'd by its own Assembly, in such Manner, as They shall judge most Easy and Convenient, and the Circumstances of their Affairs will permit.

OTHER Jurisdictions, Powers and Authorities, respecting the Honour of His MAJESTY, the Interest of the Plantations, and the Liberty and Property of the Proprietors, Traders, Planters and Inhabitants in them, may be Vested in and Cognizable by the above-said

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said Governour General or Lieutenant, and Grand Convention of the Estates, according to the Laws of England, but are not thought fit to be touch'd on or inserted here; This Proposal being General, and withall humility submitted to the Consideration of our Superiours, who may Improve, Model, or Reject it, as they in their Wisdom shall judge proper.

A COALITION or Union of this Nature, temper'd with and grounded on Prudence, Moderation and Justice, and a generous Incouragement given to the Labour, Industry, and good Management of all Sorts and Conditions of Persons inhabiting, or, any ways, concern'd or interested in the several Colonies above mention'd, will, in all probability, lay a sure and lasting Foundation of Dominion, Strength, and Trade, sufficient not only to Secure and Promote the Prosperity of the Plantations, but to revive and greatly increase the late Flourishing State and Condition of GREAT BRITAIN, and there-

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by render it, once more, the Envy and Admiration of its Neighbours.

LET us consider the Fall of our Ancestors, and grow wise by their Misfortunes. If the Ancient Britains had been united amongst themselves, the Romans, in all probability, had never become their Masters: For as Cæsar observ'd of them, Dum Singuli pugnabant, Universi vincebantur, whilst they fought in seperate Bodies, the whole Island was subdued. So if the English Colonies in America were Consolidated as one Body, and joyn'd in one Common Interest, as they are under one Gracious Sovereign, and with united Forces were ready and willing to act in Concert, and assist each other, they would be better enabled to provide for and defend themselves, against any troublesome Ambitious Neighbour, or bold Invader. For Union and Concord increase and establish Strength and Power, whilst Division and Discord have the contrary Effects.

BUT

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BUT to put a Period to this Digression; It seems to me a very great Indignity offer'd to His MAJESTY and the Nation, that when there are Five Hundred Thousand British Subjects (which are above five times more than the French have both in Canada and Louisiana put together) inhabiting the several Colonies on the East side of the Continent of North America, along the Sea Shoare, from the Gulf of St. Laurence to that of Florida, all contiguous to each other, who, for almost a Century, have establish'd a Correspondence, contracted a Friendship, and carry'd on a flourishing Trade and Commerce with the several Nations of Indians, lying on their Back, to the Westward and Northward, for Furs, Skins, &c. a most rich and valuable Traffick, the Colonies themselves abounding with Metals and Minerals of Copper, Iron, Lead, &c. producing Hemp, Flax, Pitch, Tarr, Rosin, Turpentine, Masts, Timber and Planks of Oak,
Fir,

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Fir, and all other sorts of Naval Stores, in great abundance, and the best of their Kind in the World; besides Wheat, Beef, Pork, Tobacco, Rice, and other necessary and profitable Commodities; with a Noble Fishery for Whales, Cod-fish, &c. along the Coast and in the Bays thereof, I say; it seems a great Indignity offer'd to His MAJESTY and the British Nation, that the French should seize on and Fortify this Province of Carolana, remote from Canada near a Thousand Miles, as well as the other Lands to the Westward, or on the Back of our Settlements (the greatest Part of which are comprehended in divers Patents granted long ago, by several of His MAJESTY's Royal Predecessors, Kings and Queens of England,) Especially since the English have Planted and Improv'd them, from the Sea Coast, almost up to the Sources of the largest Rivers, by the Consent of the Natives, whose Lands they have actually purchas'd and paid for, and whose Traffick we are hereby intirely depriv'd of.

MOREOVER

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MOREOVER if the English suffer themselves to be thus straitly coop'd up, without stretching their Plantations further back into the Continent, what will become of their Off-spring and Descendants, the Increase of their Own and the Nations Stock, who Claim and Demand an Habitation and Inheritance near their Parents, Relations and Friends, and have a Right to be provided for in the Country where they are Born, both by the Laws of GOD and Man; and which the Prudence and Policy of the State does likewise require, as convenient and necessary, both for extending our Territories, strengthening our Hands, and enlarging our Trade,

BESIDES, as the English are not fond of extending their Dominions on the Continent of Europe, but confine themselves to their Islands, being content with their Ancient Territories and Possessions, except what is absolutely necessary to promote and secure their Trade and Commerce, the very Vitals of the State, I cannot apprehend with what Reason or Justice

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the French, or any other Nation, should encroach upon their Claims, Colonys, or Plantations in America.

THAT They have done this is plain, from the Accounts we continually receiv'd from France, for many Years past, of the several Embarkations for the Meschacebe or Louisiana, and the Encouragement given to their West-India Company, for the Planting and Raising Materials for Manufactures therein.

WE have likewise been, with just Reason, alarm'd here in Great Britain, by the many Letters, Memorials, Representations and Remonstrances, which have, from Time to Time, been transmitted, from divers of our Colonies upon the Continent of America, setting forth the Danger they are like to be expos'd to, from the Neighbourhood of the French, if they obtain full Possession of this our Province of Carolana, and the Lands to the Northward of it, as far as the Five great Lakes, which comprehends great Part of what they call la Louisiane.

FOR

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FOR through these Countries many great Rivers have their Course, proceeding from the Back of our Colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pensilvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, (their Springs being not far distant from the Heads of the Chief Rivers, that belong to and run through those Colonies) most of them Navigable without Interruption from their Fountains, till they fall into the Meschacebe. And by means of their Settlements on that and the other Inland Rivers and Lakes, from the Bay of Mexico, to the River and Bay of St. Laurence, the French are drawing a Line of Communication, and endeavouring to surround and streighten all our Colonies, from Nova Scotia to South Carolina. Thus are they working out their own Grandure and Our Destruction.

INDEED the French, who all the World acknowledge to be an Enterpizing, Great and Politick Nation, are so sensible of the Advantages of Foreign Colonies, both in reference to Empire and Trade, that they use all manner of Artifices to lull
their

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their Neighbours a sleep, with Fine Speeches and plausible Pretences, whilst they cunningly endeavour to compass their Designs by degrees, tho' at the hazard of encroaching on their Friends and Allies, and depriving them of their Territories and Dominions in Time of Profound Peace, and contrary to the most Solemn Treaties.

FOR besides their seizing on, and settling the great River Melchacebe, and some part of the North Side of the Bay of Mexico, and the claim they seem clandestinely to make to another of our inhabited Southern Colonies adjoining thereunto, as I shall in the Sequel demonstrate, they in some of their Writings boast, that their Colony of Louisiana, hath no other Bounds to the North than the Arctick Pole, and that its Limits on the West and North West are not known much better, but extend to the South Sea, Japan, or where-ever they shall think fit to Fix them, if they can be perswaded to fix any at all; intending thereby to deprive the British Nation of all that vast Tract

of

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of Land Situate between the Gulf of Mexico and Hudsons Bay, which includes this our Province of Carolana, the aforesaid great Lakes, and the whole Country of our Five Nations, with the Fur, Peltry, and other Trade thereof. And what further Views and Designs they may entertain against the Spanish Provinces of New Mexico and New Biscay, may be easily conjectur'd since the World has been certainly appriz'd of the Project fram'd by Monsieur Dela Salle, to Visit and Seize on the Rich Mines of St. Barbe, &c. which if he thought no difficult Task to accomplish, with about Two Hundred French, and the Assistance of the Indians adjoyning to, and in actual War with the Spaniards, how much more easily will they become Masters of them, when with the United Strength of Canada and Louisiana, both French and Natives, they shall think fit to attack them. And after such an Acquisition of the Numerous Mines of those Provinces, with the Immense Riches thereof, what may not our Colonies, on the Continent of America, apprehend from them. BE.

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BESIDES Jamaica lying, as it were, locked up, between their Settlements in the Island of Hispaniola, and those on the Bay of Mexico, will soon be in Danger of falling into their Hands ; and whether the Havana itself, and the whole Island of Cuba, with the Key of Old Mexico, La Vera Cruz, will long remain in the Possession of the Spaniards, is very much to be doubted. And supposing the best that can happen to us, it will be but Ulysses's Fate, to have the Favour of being destroy'd last : A very Comfortable Consideration.

WE are all sensible what Clamours were rais'd at the Concessions made to France, on the Conclusion of the late Peace at Utrecht. There's scarce a Man well vers'd in the Interest of Trade and Plantations, but blam'd the then Ministry for not insisting on the Surrender of Canada, as well as Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, for the Security of our Northern Colonies on the Continent of America, and the Traffick thereof : Nor ought they to have allow'd them the Possession of Cape Breton, if they had well consider'd or under-

stood

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stood the Nature of the Fishery in those Seas.

THE History of former Ages, and the Experience of these latter Times have inform'd us, that the French have ever been troublesome Neighbours, wheresoever they were seated: Historians asserting, that the natural Levity and restlessness of their Temper, their enterprizing Genius, and Ambition of extending their Dominions, and raising the Glory and Grandeur of their Monarchs, contribute in great Measure to make them so.

WHEREFORE it's to be hop'd, that the British Nation, will be so far from continuing idle or indifferent Spectators of the unreasonable and unjust Usurpations and Encroachments of the French, on the Continent of America, that they'll let 'em know, they have enough already of Canada and Cape Breton, and that it's expected they abandon their New Acquisitions on the Meschacebe and the Bay of Mexico, that River and Country belonging of Right to the Crown of Great Britain. And I believe it will scarce be deny'd, that at
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present, whilst they are weak, and in the Infancy and Confusion of their Settlements in Louisiana, we have a much better Chance, and are in far happier Circumstances, to put in our Claim to, and dispute the Right and Possession of that and the other Land, above mention'd with them, than we shall be some Years hence, when they have augmented the Number of their Inhabitants, debauch'd the Natives to their Party, and further strengthen'd themselves, by securing, with Forts and Garrisons, the Passes of the Rivers, Lakes and Mountains, even tho' they should not have obtain'd any Advantage over the Spaniards, or enrich'd themselves with the Wealth of Mexico.

I must acknowledge, that in Case the British Nation, should be so far infatuated, as not to assert their Right to this so noble, and to them so useful and necessary a Colony, and endeavour to regain the Possession thereof, or secure, at least, so much of it, as lies on the Back of our Plantations, as far Westward as the Meschacebe, it will be much more eligible and
for

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for their Interest, that the Spaniards were Masters of it than the French, we not having so much Reason to apprehend the same danger, either to our Colonies, Trade or Navigation, from the First, as from the Last. Tho' I'm far from admitting the Cession of it to either of them, on any Terms whatsoever, without an absolute and apparent Necessity, which, I thank GOD, we are not yet reduc'd to, nor apprehensive of.

AND I am apt to think, that Prudence and Poliey, will or ought to prompt us, to keep a Ballance of Power in America, as well as nearer Home; and that as we have, for above Thirty Years past, found it our Interest to check and put a stop to the growing Power of France, and set Bounds to their Dominions here in Europe, we shall not easily be induc'd to allow them to encroach on, and deprive us of our Colonies and Plantations in America.

THE Spaniards are said to be very uneasy at the so near Neighbourhood of the French on the Meschacebe, and are perhaps more jealous of the Consequences thereof than we are, tho' not more than we ought to be;
and

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and, it's presum'd, that on a proper Application and Incouragement, they'll joyn with us to oppose and dispossess them of their Settlements there and on the Bay of Mexico, least they render themselves sole Masters of the Navigation thereof, and with the Assistance of the Indians, make Irruptions into the very Heart of their Colonies, attack their Towns, seize their Mines, and Fortify and Maintain themselves therein.

AND perhaps I may not be in the wrong to suggest, that the Spaniards will readily divide this Country with us, and surrender all their Pretentions to whatsoever lies Eastward of the Meschacebe, except St. Augustin, on Condition the French are oblig'd to remove thence and retire elsewhere. And indeed nothing seems more proper and reasonable, than for that Great River to be the settl'd and acknowledg'd Boundary and Partition, between the Territories of Spain and Great-Britain, on the Northern Continent of America, Nature seeming to have form'd it almost purpose-ly

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ly for that End, as will be evident to those who shall give themselves the Trouble of viewing the annexed Map. And at the same Time They'll perceive how the French have worm'd themselves into a Settlement between the English and Spanish Plantations, on Pretence of a Vacancy; and with an Assurance scarce to be parallel'd, have fix'd Bounds to the Dominions of both.

PERHAPS I may be suspected by some People of a Design to plead for a War with France under Pretence of asserting our Right to the abovemention'd Colony and Lands adjacent, at a Time, when, by Reason of the present unsettl'd Posture of our Affairs we are so unfit for it. But I protest a Thought of that Nature is so contrary to my Intentions, and so foreign to my Inclinations, that I heartily and sincerely wish, if consistent with our Honour, Interest and Safety, we may ever avoid one with that Nation; But then it is reasonable to expect from them a due Observance and Execution of Treaties, particularly that of Utrecht, by which,

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I am inform'd, They are excluded from enjoying any Acquisitions, They have made in America during the Late War.

I WOULD not willingly charge them directly with a Violation of that Treaty, since their Resentment against the Spaniards for a Breach of it, is so fresh in our Memories, and the War commenc'd with them, on that Account so lately terminated. Yet if its alledg'd, They have acted, with Respect to Treaties, sincerely and without Reserve on their Part, how comes it, that whilst we were Gloriously and Generously risking our Fleets by Sea in Europe, at such a distance from Home, at so vast an Expence, and even at the Instance of France itself, only to preserve the Sanction of Treaties, and do Justice to our Allies, They should clandestinely apply their Naval Force, to seize on and deprive us of our Trade and Territories in America, and Settle and Aggrandize themselves at our Expence, where they had no Right,
and

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—and even, as is suggested, contrary to the most solemn Engagements.

THIS is certainly a Treatment most Unjust and Dishonourable to the British Nation, which I should not have mention'd, if the Duty I owe to my Sovereign, and the Affection I bear to my Country, did not forbid me at such a Juncture, and on so Important an Occasion, to be silent and unconcern'd.

IF we tamely submit to Insults and Injuries of this Nature, without being alarm'd, and taking the necessary Steps towards a speedy and effectual Redress of them, shall we not seem Infatuated and Wanting to ourselves, be arraign'd as Felo de se, and accounted, with good Reason, the Bubbles of the French? Won't a Noble and Generous Struggle, for the rescuing and preserving Our Honour, Our Dominions and Our Trade, better become Us, than a Base and Cowardly Submission and Surrender of them? Shall we neglect the Means our Safety asks? Or shall we suspect that our Good and Potent Allies, whose Interest

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and Welfare we have had so much at Heart, during the two Late Wars, for whom we have hazarded so much, and perform'd so many and so Great Things, succour'd them in their Extremities, and sav'd them from impending Ruin; and even by our Fleets and Armies, at a Vast Expence of Blood and Treasure, assisted them to Conquer and Possess whole Provinces and Kingdoms; And after all this and more, Can we imagine They'll abandon us to Insults and Injuries, and quietly acquiesce in our Misfortunes and Distress, who have so Generously Assisted them in, and Extricated them out of theirs? Nay, may we not rather suppose and expect, that in Honour and Gratitude, They'll exert themselves, and fly to our Assistance, with all imaginable Chearfulness and Alacrity, if so be at the ensuing Treaty of Peace, which is said to be near at hand, we are not afraid to Publish our Wrongs, and Demand our Rights?

ALL the Writings of the French give us to understand, how fond They have been
of

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of this Colony for Thirty Years past, and the great Advantages They proposed to themselves thereby. And the better to engage their late Great Monarch's Ambition of being Renown'd in Future History, in Allusion to his Name, They stil'd it La Louisiane, and the Meschacebe, the River of St. Louis, tho' at that Time, They had but one small Stokadoed Fort, above Two hundred Miles from the Northern, and Seven or Eight Hundred Miles from the Southern Bounds of this Province.

By what is before mention'd, and the several Writings, Charts, and Maps of the French, it is evident, to what a narrow Extent of Ground They have confin'd the English Plantations. And particularly in L'Isles Map, the best and most approv'd of any they have lately publish'd, besides many very Remarkables there is One, which I cannot omit taking Notice of, viz. That on the Part where They fix Carolina, now and long since inhabited by the English, They have inserted this Memorable Passage, Caroline

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ainsi nommez en l'honneur de Charles IX, par les François qui la decouvrirent en prirent Possession et s'establirent lan 15. Caroline so nam'd in Honour of Charles the IXth, by the French, who discover'd, took Possession of, and settl'd it in the Year 15.. by which the Author seems to intimate the Right of his Nation to that Province; who, if they are so Bold already, in so Publick a manner, to put in their Claim, to it, may, its to be fear'd, when they think themselves strong enough, by Force assert it.

BUT howsoever these Things may happen (which I pray GOD may not in our Days) the Proprietor of Carolana will have the Comfort and Satisfaction of having discharg'd his Duty to the Publick, in affording Matter for the following Sheets, which I here offer to the View and Perusal of all true Britains, in hopes They may prove acceptable, and engage their Attention for the Publick Good.

BUT if the said Proprietor after so great Trouble and Expence, should have
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the Mortification to see all his honest and well meant Endeavours rejected, and the Fruits of his Labour and Substance render'd Ineffectual, and lost both to his Country, himself and Family, and this Noble Province secur'd by the French, without a Probability of Redemption, he must sit down with Patience, and bewail his own Misfortunes, and the Infatuation of his Countrymen, who, as they formerly refus'd the Honour of being the first Discoverers of America, when it was offer'd them by the great Columbus, in the Reign of King Henry the VIIth, do now slight and despise the Possession of a Country, which is One of the Finest and most Valuable in that Part of the World, and in their Power to secure, at least the greatest Part of it.

YET notwithstanding these his unsuccessful and discouraging Efforts, it will appear and continue as a Memorial to Futurity, by the Discoveries and Relations here publish'd, and the Petitions, Memorials, and Representations formerly by him presented to King WILLIAM

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and succeeding Ministries relating thereunto (many of the Things he then foretold betng since come to pass) that he has acted the Part both of a Friend and Prophet of his Country; and that had his Advice been taken, and Measures put in Practice, many of the Inconveniences (to say no worse) that have already happen'd, and are like still to befall the English Plantations on the Continent of Amercia and the Trade thereof, as well as in Consequence of that of their Mother good Old England, from this Establishment of the French on the Meschacebe and the Bay of Mexico, would in all Probability, have been nipt in the Bud, and intirely prevented.

WHAT is yet to be done therein (and there is no doubt but something may be successfully attempted) must be left, with all due Submission, to the Wisdom of His MAJESTY and His Councils, who, it's presum'd, will not neglect so favourable a Conjunction, as the ensuing Congress or Treaty of Peace, to assert and maintain the Right of the British Nation to
this

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this Province and the Lands adjacent, or at least to whatsoever lies to the Eastward of the Meschacebe, and on the Back, and contiguous to our already settled Plantations, whose Welfare and Prosperity depends intirely on our being Masters thereof, or on our preventing the French from being so, which I am persuaded is still in our Power, and may be effected.

THE Probability of a Communication by Water (except about half a Day's Land Carriage) between the River Meschacebe and the South-Sea, stretching from America to Japan and China, which is represented in the Fifth Chapter of the ensuing Treatise, with the great Advantages to be made thereof, deserves to be well and duely consider'd.

I have only given a short and succinct Account and Discription of some of the most useful Animals, Vegetables, Mettals, Minerals, Precious Stones, and other Commodities, which are Naturally, or may with Indultry be produc'd in this our Province, with some particular Remarks thereon. As for those which are merely rare,
and

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land serve chiefly for Speculation and Amusement, I have not so much as touch'd upon them ; neither have I made any Observations upon the Manners, Customs or Religion of the Natives, as being foreign to my present Purpose.

PERHAPS I may be look'd upon as a Visionary, who represent such Advantages may accrue to a Country not yet by us fully Possess'd or Planted ; But it will not seem so Ridiculous or Incredible to them, that consider the wonderful Progress the Spaniards made, who in a little above Thirty Years after their Discovery of the Empire of Mexico, Conquer'd that of Peru, and Part of Chili, from whence they bring such Immense Treasures unto Old Spain. Their Beginnings were Ten times more Contemptible and Improbable than what I suggest. However, tho' the Undertakings hereafter mention'd may be suspended, till these Parts are well Secur'd and Inhabited by the Subjects of Great Britain. I have discharg'd my Duty in representing to the Publick, what may be effected,
and

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and how, when Opportunity shall present.

IF such Objections had prevail'd, we had never got that Footing on the Continent of America as now we have. And to say nothing of other Commodities, how vast a Revenue doth Tobacco alone bring unto the Crown, and how Staple and Beneficial a Merchandize for Foreign Trade? Not to enlarge about the Trade with our Islands, who by Sugar, Cotton, Indico, and many other Commodities, besides their Traffick with the Spaniards, bring a great Treasure to the Nation. And the Circular Trade to and from the Continent and Islands, greatly increase our Shipping, Seamen, and Wealth, perhaps as much as all the Trade we have with the whole Commercial World besides. To which may be added, that nothing is of greater Importance to Great Britain, than the Consumption of its Native Growths and Manufactures, and what vast Quantities of them are sent to and expended in our American Plantations, the Bills of Entry

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Entry, and the ³ Custom-House Books will inform us.

BESIDES the great quantities of Masts, Pitch, Tarr, Rosin, Turpentine, Hemp, Flax, Timber, Plank, Deal Boards, and other Naval Stores, which are brought home from thence, or, on due Encouragement, may be had and raised there, prove not only extremely Beneficial to Great Britain at present, but will be render'd much more so, on a War or Misunderstanding with any of the Northern Potentates, from whose Territories we usually Import them, and to whom we pay for the most Part, ready Money and Bullion for them, to the amount of several Hundred Thousand Pounds per Annum, which will be kept within the Kingdom, when once we are supply'd with those Commodities from our own Colonies, which with due Encouragement we soon may.

FOR Proof of which, Experience has taught us, that formerly on the passing the Act of Parliament, which encourages the making Pitch and Tarr, in our
Planta-

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Plantations, *the Design was soon put in Practice, and the End fully answer'd, those Commodities being in a few Years rais'd and Imported in such Quantities, as to supply the Demands and Necessities of most, if not all the Shipping of Great Britain, at much less than half the Price, they were sold for before.*

By about Fourteen Years Residence on the Continent of America, and the Observations I have made of the Produce and Trade of the several Colonies therein, the most considerable of which I have often visited, I think I can easily demonstrate, that there is not one Commodity of any Consequence, which we have from Russia or the Baltick, but may be found or rais'd there, and in as great Quantities and Perfection. So that if the Nation would intirely slight the Trade and Navigation of those Countries, and apply themselves vigorously to the Traffick of our Plantations, they would soon find their Account in it, and gain by the Change Annually near, if not full, Half a Million of Money; besides
rescuing

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rescuing ourselves from a sort of Dependance on the Northern Powers, whose unreasonable Caprices and Impositions, We have, to our great Discredit and Detriment, too long experienc'd.

BUT if the French should ever grow so Powerful in America, as to be able to Intercept or Engross the Trade with the Indians, or Ruin or Subject our Plantations, there's an End of this Consumption of our Home Produce and Manufactures, of all our Shipping Trade thither, of the Customs for Goods Exported there or imported thence, the Increase of our Sailors, and the Advantages of raising our own Naval Stores ; besides the Loss of so Large an Extent of Dominion, and Five Hundred Thousand British Subjects therein. We may likewise be assur'd that all our Islands in the West-Indies, will soon undergo the same Fate, or be terribly distress'd, for want of their usual Supplies of Fish, Lumber and other Necessaries, they constantly stand in need of, and receive from our Plantations on the Continent,
which

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which neither Great Britain nor Ireland can assist them with, and which They purchase with their Sugar, Rum and Malosses; the Vent of which will be in great measure stop't on the Loss of our Colonies, whereby they'll be mightily discourag'd and impoverish'd, so as to become an easy Acquisition to any Ambitious and Powerful Invador.

Thus GREAT BRITAIN being depriv'd of its Subjects, Dominions and Trade in and to America, our Merchants will be ruin'd, our Customs and Funds will Sink, our Manufactures will want Vent, our Lands will Fall in Value, and instead of decreasing, our Debts will increase, without the least Prospect of the Nation's emerging.

I have thought fit to subjoin an Appendix at the End of the Book, containing a short Extract of the Grant from King Charles I. to Sir Robert Heath, of this our Province of Carolana, and the Veanis and Bahama Islands. Together with an Additional Clause, taken from the Representation of the Right Honourable

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able *the* Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to King William, signifying the Report of the then Attorney General, Sir Thomas Trevro, now the Right Honourable *the* Lord Trevor, in Favour of the Title of the Present Proprietor thereunto.

I have likewise inserted an Abstract of the first and most material Memorial presented by the said Proprietor to King William, being a Demonstration of the just Pretensions of the King of England to the abovesaid Province, and of the present Proprietary under his MAJESTY.

ALL other Proceedings respecting the said Province, both in that Prince's Time, and since his Present MAJESTY's Accession to the Throne, are purposely omitted, lest I should swell the Bulk of this Treatise too much, and transgress my own fix'd Resolution, which was to contract it into as narrow a Compass as possibly I could.

As to the Work itself I have little to say, farther, Then, if the Importance of the Subject, and Design of the Author,
cannot

The P R E F A C E.

cannot affect the Attention, and attract the Esteem of the Reader, I know nothing therein considerable enough to do it.

I SHALL only add, That the Principal Motive which engag'd me to compose both the foregoing and the following Sheets, was a Desire to inform the Publick of an Affair of the greatest Consequence, and which it concerns them so much to know; and to excite some Worthy Patriots to search into, and fully examine the Present Circumstances and Condition of our Plantations, lest Ruin steals on them unawares, and they are undone before they are thought to be in Danger. Whether I may attain my End therein I know not; but of this, I am certain, That my Endeavours are truly honest and sincere, and design'd more for a Publick Good, than a Private Emolument.

I HAD almost forgot to inform the Reader, That my Reason for not describing that Part of the Province of
e Caio-

The PREFACE.

Carolana, bordering on the North or Atlantick Ocean, which comprehends the greatest Part of Carolina, was, because it has been so often and so well perform'd already, in the several Printed Accounts of that last mention'd Colony, to which I referr.



THE



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A



A
DESCRIPTION, &c.

CHAP. I.

A Description of the great and famous River Meschacebe or Mississippi, the Rivers increasing it both from the East and West, the Countries adjacent, and the several Nations of Indians inhabiting therein.



CAROLANA and Carolina are two distinct tho' bordering Provinces, the East of Carolana joyn-
ing to the West of Carolina. The former was granted by Patent unto Sir Robert Heath in the Beginning of the Reign of King Charles I.
B which

which said Sir Robert was the then Attorney-General, and by him convey'd unto the Earl of *Arundel*, from whom it came by mean Conveyances unto the present Proprietary.

This Province of *Carolana* is extended North and South from the River *St. Mattheo*, lying according to the Patent in 31 Degrees (tho' by later and more accurate Observations, it is found to lie exactly in 30 Degrees and 10 Minutes) unto the River *Passo Magno*, which is in 36 Degrees of Northern Latitude; and in Longitude from the Western or *Atlantick* Ocean unto New Mexico now in Possession of the *Spaniards*, which is in a direct Line above 1000 Miles, and were not inhabited by them, unto the *South-Sea*. It comprehends within its Bounds, the greatest Part of the Province of *Carolina*, whose Proprietors derive their Claim and Pretensions thereto, by Charters from King *Charles II.* about Thirty Years after the abovemention'd Grant to Sir Robert *Heath*.

The great River *Meschacebe* runs through the midst of this Country, having a Course almost directly North and South from its first Fountains, in about 50 Degrees of North Latitude, to its disimboguing into the Middle of the Gulph of *Mexico*. The Rivers that make this, which the *Spaniards* call'd *Rio-grand del Norte*, proceed about one half from the West, the other from the East, so that the whole Country may be almost

almost entirely visited by Navigable Rivers without any Falls or Cataracts, which are usual in most of the Northern Rivers of *America*, and in all Rivers of Long-Course, even in *Carolina*, (tho' to this Country contiguous) and thence Northward to the great River of *St. Laurence* or *Cannada*, and other Rivers Northward innumerable. The excellent and convenient Situation of this Country for Inland Trade and Navigation, and for Trade with the *Spaniards* in *New Mexico*, the whole Gulph of *Mexico*, and the *South-Sea* (which I shall hereafter demonstrate) will be greatly for the Advantage, and not in the least to the Prejudice of our Home Plantation Trade, as will appear more evident by the Description of this great River *Meschabe*, and those Rivers that enter into it, together with the vast Navigable Lakes of fresh Water adjoining thereunto.

We will for good Reasons begin our Description of it from its Entrance into the Sea, ascending up unto its Source; and from very good Journals both by Sea and Land, give an Account of the Chief Rivers that run into it from the East and West, as we find them in our Ascent, together with their Course, Length and Bigness, the Nature of the Countries, and the Names of the Nations through which they pass,

The River *Meschacebe* is so call'd by the Inhabitants of the North; *Cebe*, being the Name for a River, even as far as *Hudson's Bay*; and *Mescha*, great, which is the great River; And by the *French*, who learn'd it from them, corruptly, *Mississippi*; which Name of *Meschacebe* it doth retain among the Savages, during half its Course: Afterwards some call it *Chucagua*, others *Sassagoula*, and *Malabanchia*, as it fares with the *Danubius*, which 400 Miles before it enters the *Euxine Sea*, is stil'd the *Ister*; and the like happens to all the Rivers of Long Course in *America*, as *Oronogue*, the River of the *Amazons*, and *Rio de la Plata*. This River enters the Gulph of *Mexico* 140 Leagues from the North West Part of the *Peninsula* of *Florida*, keeping along the Coast in 30 Degrees North Latitude; and 120 Leagues from the most westerly Part of the said Gulph in about 29 Degrees the same Latitude; and thence the Coast extends S. and by W. to the River *Panuco*, which is under the *Tropick of Cancer* in $23\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees, the utmost Part inhabited by the *Spaniards* towards the N. and N. E. on the Gulph of *Mexico*.

The Province of *Carolina*, from the Conjunction with the *Peninsula* of *Florida*, for 250 Leagues is situated about the 30th Degree of North Latitude, and seldom varies 10 Leagues N. or S. from the same; excepting the Entrance of the River *Meschacebe*,

cebe, which I am now about to describe from the Mouth unto its first Fountains.

The River *Maschacebe* empties itself into the Gulph of *Mexico* by seven Channels like the River *Nile*, of which *Herodotus* the Father of History, and who liv'd long in *Egypt*, affirms in his Time, three were always Navigable, and the others only so during the Inundations of the said River, which were made by Art and Labour, tho' our Modern Navigators allow only two; but our River hath Seven Navigable at all Times; the Three great Ones by Ships, the Four smaller, Two on each side (as appears by the Chart) by Boats and Sloops, especially during the Time of the Waters rising or the Freshes, as they call them, which are always constant, and return in the Spring, and sometimes happen in the Summer upon the great Rains, which is not frequent.

The Three great Branches always Navigable by Shipping, are situated about 6 Miles distant from each other, and unite all at one Place with the main River, about 12 Miles from their Mouths.

There is not above 14 Foot on the Barr at Low-Water in Neep-Tides, excepting when the Freshes come down in the Spring or upon great Rains, but when you are over the Barr, which is not in many Places above a Ship's length Broad, you enter immediately

mediately into deep Water, the least 5 Fathom, which increases to 10 Fathom before you come to the main River: After that it deepens gradually, to above 30, and you have no where less than 20 Fathom for a 100 Miles, and little less for 100 Leagues, and afterwards from 10 to 17 for 100 Leagues more: Then from 6 to 10, 200 Leagues further; thence to the great Cataract or Fall which is 1600 Miles from its Entrance into the Sea, from 3 Fathom to 6: Its Breadth is generally during its great Depth scarce a Mile, but as it lessens in Depth, it encreases in Breadth, and is in most Places of its Course Two Miles broad, and where it makes Islands (as it does very frequently) from the Middle of its Course 2 or 3 Leagues. The Banks in most Places are no more than 5, or 6 Feet above the River, and Ships may almost in all Places lie by the side of the Shore, there being generally from 3 to 6 Fathom, and deepens gradually, as you approach the Middle of the River, which hath mostly a pretty strong Current, but there are divers Promontories, under which you may Anchor, where is good Shelter from Winds, and curious Eddy-Tides.

When you are ascended the River 4 or 5 Leagues, it is border'd on each side with high Trees of divers Sorts, from half a Mile to 2 Miles deep into the Country, very little under Woods, no Trouble in travelling

velling, besides what proceeds from the Vines ramping upon the Ground. Divers others surround and mount up the Trees, almost unto their Tops, which are seldom less than 100 Feet from their Roots, and often 30, or 40 Feet more. When you come out of the agreeable Shade, you see a most beautiful level Country, only about 6 or 8 Miles distance, there are Collins or gentle Ascents, for the most Part round or oval, crown'd with stately Trees, which looks more like a Work of laborious consummate Art than of mere Nature; and this on both sides the River, so far as the acuteſt Sight can reach; in which Meadows the wild Bulls and Kine, besides other Beasts, graze, and in the Heat of the Day retire into these Woods for Shelter, where they chew the Cudd.

There is no considerable River empties itself into the *Meschacebe* from the Mouths, until you come about 12 Miles above the *Bayogola* and *Mougolaches*, two Nations who dwell together on the West-side thereof, 200 Miles from the Sea; then on the East side, there falls out of the *Meschacebe* a Branch, which after a Course of 160 Miles, empties itself into the N. E. End of the great Bay of *Spirito Santo*; it is not above 40 or 50 Yards broad, and 2 or 3 Fathom deep at its beginning; but soon enlarges in Breadth and Depth by the Accession of divers Rivers and Rivulets, and is a

most lovely River, making pleasant Lakes, and passing, during its whole Course, thro' a Country exactly like that we have formerly describ'd : It is Navigable by the greatest Boats, Sloops, and small Ships of *English* Building ; and by large Ones, if built after the *Dutch* manner with flat Bottoms.

On the North-side of one of the above-mention'd Lakes, call'd by the *French* Lake *Pontchartrain*, they have erected a small Fort, and Storehouses, whither after unloading their large Vessels at *Isle aux Vaisseaux*, or Ships Island, they bring the Goods in Sloops or Shallops, and from thence disperse them by their Traders amongst their own Settlements and the several Nations of *Indians*, inhabiting on and about the *Meschacebe*, and the Rivers which enter it, both from the East and West.

About 50 Miles above the Place where this River is dismiss'd from the *Meschacebe*, on the other side, *viz.* the West, enters the River of the *Houmas* so nam'd from a considerable Nation, who inhabit upon it in the Country, 6 or 8 Miles from its Mouth. This is a mighty River deep and broad, and comes from the Mountains of *New Mexico* ; its Course is mostly N. W. and is Navigable by large Vessels above 300 Miles, and thence by large Boats and Sloops almost unto its Fountains. By this River you may have Communication with above 40 Nations,

ons, who live upon it, or its Branches; and also with the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, from whom its furthest Heads are not above an easy Day's Journey. Upon this River and most of its Branches, are great Herds of wild Kine, which bear a fine Wooll, and Abundance of Horse, both wild and tame of the *Spanish* Breed, on which the *Indians* Ride, with almost as much Skill as the *Europeans*, tho' the Bridles, Sables, and Stirrups are somewhat different from ours, yet not the less commodious.

Twelve Leagues Higher upon the River *Meschacebe*, is the River of the *Naches*, which, 10 or 12 Leagues above its Mouth, divides itself into two Branches, and forms an Island about 30 Miles in Circumference, very pleasant and fertile. The South Branch is Inhabited by the *Corroas*, the North by the *Naches*, both considerable Nations, abounding in all Necessaries for Humane Life. Some Leagues above the Division is a pretty large Lake, where there is a great Fishery for Pearl, large and good, taken out of a Shell-Fish of a middle Nature between an Oyster and a Muscle.

About 12 or 14 Leagues higher on the same, that is the West side, the *Meschacebe*, makes a little Gulph about 20 Miles long and 3 or 4 broad, upon which Inhabit in many Towns the Populous and Civilized Nation of the *Tabensa*, who also abound in Pearls, and enjoy an Excellent Country;

try; Are very hospitable to Strangers, and tho' as most *Indian* Nations, at War with there Neighbours, yet together with the three last mentioned, and those to be hereafter named, joyfully receive and kindly entertain all with whom they have not actual Hostilities.

Fourteen or Fifteen Leagues higher on the East side of *Meschacebe*, is the Nation and River of *Tasoue* which comes two or 300 Miles out of the Country, on which dwell the Nations in order mention'd after the *Tassouees*, the *Tounicas*, *Kourouas*, *Tihion*, *Samboukia* and *Epitoupa*.

Ten or 12 Leagues higher on the West Side, is the River *Natchitock*, which has a Course of many Hundred Miles: And after; it is Ascended about one hundred, there are many Springs, Pitts, and Lakes, which afford most Excellent common Salt in great Plenty, wherewith they Trade with Neighbouring Nations for other Commodities they want, and may be of great Service to the *European* Inhabitants of this Country, to preserve Flesh, and Fish for their own Use, and Exportation to Natives, *Spaniards*, and our Islands, to the great Profit of them, who have not Stock to engage in greater and more beneficial Undertakings. Upon this River inhabit not only the *Nachitocks*, *Naguateeres*, *Natsohocks*, but higher several other Nations,

Sixteen Leagues further upon the West side, enter the *Meschacebe* two Rivers, which unite about 10 Leagues above, and make an Island call'd by the Name of the *Torimans*, by whom it is inhabited.

The Southerly of these two Rivers, is that of the *Ousoutimy* upon which dwell first the *Akansas*, a great Nation, higher upon the same River the *Kansa*, *Mintou*, *Erabacha* and others.

The River to the North is nam'd *Niska*, upon which live Part of the Nation of the *Ozages*; their great Body Inhabiting a large River which bears their Name, and Empties itself into the Yellow River, as will be hereafter mention'd: And upon this River near the Mouth is the Nation *Tonginga*, who with the *Torimans* are Part of the *Akansaes*.

Ten Leagues higher is a Small River named *Cappa*, and upon it a People of the same Name, and another called *Ouesseries*, who fled, to avoid the Persecution of the *Irocois*, from a River which still bears their Name to be mention'd hereafter.

Ten Miles higher, on the same side of the *Meschacebe*, is a little River nam'd *Mat-chicebe* upon which dwell the Nations *Mat-chagamia* and *Epiminguia*; over against whom is the great Nation of the *Chicazas*, whose Country extends above forty Leagues to the River of the *Cheraquees*, which we shall describe

describe when we come to Discourse of the great River *Hohio*.

Ten Leagues higher on the East side is the River and Nation of *Chongue*, with some others to the East of them.

Fifteen Leagues higher, on the West side, is the River and Nation of *Sypouria*.

Thirty Leagues higher on the East side, is the opening of a River that proceeds out of a Lake 20 Miles long, which is about 10 Miles from the *Meschacebe*. Into this Lake empty themselves four large Rivers: The most Northerly, which comes from the North East, is called *Ouabachicon* or *Ouabache* upon which dwelt the Nations *Chachakingua*, *Pepepicokia*, *Hohio*, *Pianguichia*. The next South of this, is the vast River *Hohio*, which comes from the back of *New-York*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, and is Navigable 600 Miles. *Hohio* in the *Indian* Language signifies the fair River; And certainly it runs from its Heads through the most Beautiful fertile Countries in the Universe, and is form'd by the Confluence of 10 or 12 Rivers, and innumerable Rivulets. A Town settled upon this Lake, or the Entrance of the River *Hohio* thereinto, would have Communication with a most lovely Fruitfull Country 600 Miles Square. Formerly divers Nations dwelt on this River as the *Chawanoes*, a mighty and very populous People, who had above 50 Towns, and many other Nations who were totally destroyed,

ed, or driven out of their Country by the *Irocois*; this River being their usual Road when they make War upon the Nations who lie to the South or to the West.

South of the *Hohio* is another River which about 30 Leagues above the Lake is divided into two Branches; the Northerly is call'd *Ouespere*, the Southerly the Black River, there are very few People upon either, they having been destroy'd or driven away by the aforementioned *Irocois*. The Heads of this River proceed from the West side of the vast Ridge of Mountains, which run on the Back of *Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland*; on whose opposite or East side, are the Sources of the great River *Potomack*, which by a Mouth of some Leagues broad, discharges itself into the middle of the Bay of *Chesapeake*, and separates the two last mention'd Provinces from each other. The Mountains afford a short Passage or Communication between those two Rivers, which the *Indians* are well acquainted with, and by which in Conjunction with the *French* of the *Meschacebe*, they may in Time insult and harrafs those Colonies.

The most Southerly of the abovesaid four Rivers, which enter into the Lake, is a River some call *Kasqui*, so nam'd from a Nation Inhabiting a little above its Mouth; others call it the *Cusates* or the River of the *Cheraquees*, a mighty Nation, among whom it hath its chief Fountains; it comes from the
South

South East, and its Heads are among the Mountains, which separate this Country from *Carolina*, and is the great Road of the Traders, from thence to the *Meschacebe*, and intermediate Places. Above 200 Miles up this River to the South East, is the great and powerful Nation of the *Chicazas*, good Friends to the *English*, whose Dominion extends thence to the *Meschacebe*: Before you come at them, is a small Fall or Cataract, the only one I have yet heard of, in any of the Rivers that enter the *Meschacebe*, either from the East or from the West. Thirty or Forty Leagues above the *Chicazas*, this River forms four delicate Islands which have each a Nation Inhabiting them, viz. *Tahogale*, *Kakigue*, *Cochali*, and *Tali*. Sixty Leagues above the Island and Nation of the *Tali*, inhabits the aforementioned Nation of the *Cheraquees*, who have at least 60 Towns, some of which are not above 60 Miles from *Carolina*. They have great Friendship with the *English* of that Province, who from thence carry on a free Trade with, and are always very kindly entertain'd by them.

Fifteen Leagues above the *Hohio*, or the River coming out of the Lake aforementioned, to the West, is the River *Honabanou*, upon which dwells a Nation of the same Name, and another call'd *Amicoa*: And 10 Leagues above that, is the great Island of the *Tamaras*, and over against it on the East side a Nation which goes by its Name, and another

other by that of *Cahokia* who dwell on the Banks of the River *Chepusso*.

Fifteen Leagues above which to the West is the Great Yellow River, so nam'd because it is Yellowish and so muddy, That tho' the *Meschacebe* is very clear where they meet, and so many great Rivers of Christaline water below, mix with the *Meschacebe*, yet it discolours them all even unto the Sea. When you are up this River 60 or 70 Miles, you meet with two Branches. The lesser, tho' large, proceeds from the South, and most of the Rivers that compose it falls from the Mountains, which separate this Country from New Mexico; notwithstanding which, there is a very easie Communication between them. This is called the River of the *Orages*, from a Numerous People, who have 16 or 18 Towns seated thereupon, especially near its mixing with the Yellow River. The other which is the main Branch, comes from the North West, most of whose Branches descend likewise from the Mountains of New Mexico, and Divers other large Provinces which are to the North of New-Mexico, wholly possessed by *Indians*, who are said to be very Numerous, and well polic'd: They are all at War with the *Spaniards*, from whom they have defended their Countries above 150 Years, and have rather recovered than lost Ground. They are likewise at War, as generally the *Indians* are, amongst themselves.

selves. The most Northerly Branches of
 this River, are interwoven with other Branch-
 es, which have a contrary Course, pro-
 ceeding to the West, and empty them-
 selves into a vast Lake, whose Waters by
 means of another great River, disembogues
 into the South-Sea. The *Indians* affirm, they
 see great Ships sailing in that Lake, Twen-
 ty times bigger then their Canows. The
 Yellow is called the River of the *Massorites*,
 from a great Nation inhabiting in many
 Towns near its juncture with the River
 of the *Ozages*: There are many other Na-
 tions upon the same, little inferior to
 them in Extent of Territories or number of
 Towns, as the *Panimaha's*, *Pancassa's* *Pana's*,
Paneloga's, *Matotantes*, few of them having
 less than 20 Towns, scarce any of which
 count less then 200 Cabans.

Forty Miles above the Yellow River, on
 the East side is the River *Checagou* or the
 River of the *Alinouecks*, corruptly by the
French call'd *Illinois*, which Nation liv'd up-
 on and about this River, having above 60
 Towns, and formerly consisted of 20000
 fighting Men, but are now almost totally
 destroy'd by the *Irocois*, or driven beyond the
Meschacebe Westward. This is a large Plea-
 sant River; And about 250 Miles above
 its Entrance into the *Meschacebe*, it is divided
 into two Branches; the lesser comes from
 North and by East, and its Head is within
 4 or 5 Miles of the great Lake of the *Ali-*

nouecks

noueck on its West-side; the other comes almost directly from the East, and proceeds from a Morasse within 2 Miles of the River *Miamiha*, which empties itself into the same Lake. On the South-East-side, there is an easy Communication between these two Rivers, by a Land-Carriage of 2 Leagues, about 50 Miles to the South-East of the foremention'd Lake. The Course of this River from its Head exceeds 400 Miles, Navigable above half way by Ships, and most of the rest by Sloops, and large Boats or Barges. Many small Rivers run into it, and it forms 2 or 3 Lakes; but one mightily extoll'd, call'd *Pimiteoui*, which is 20 Miles long, and 3 Miles broad; it affords great Quantities of good Fish, and the Country round about it, abounds with Game, both Fowls and Beasts. Besides the *Illicoueck*, are the Nations *Prouaria*, the great Nation *Cascaquia* and *Caracontauon*; and on the Northern Branch inhabit Part of the Nation of the *Mascontens*.

On the South East Bank of this River, Monsieur *de la Sale* erected a Fort in the Year 1680, which he nam'd *Creve-cœur*, from the Grief which seiz'd him, on the Loss of one of his chief trading Barks richly laden, and the Mutiny, and villanous Intrigues of some of his Company, who first attempted to poyson, and afterwards desert him. This Fort stands about half Way between
C thereof

the Bay of *Mexico* and *Canada*, and was formerly the usual Rout of the *French* in going to or returning from either of those Places: But since they have discover'd a nearer and easier Passage by the *Ouabache* and *Ohio*, the Sources of both which Rivers, are at a small Distance from the *Lake Erie*, or some Rivers which enter into it.

Forty Leagues higher on the West-side is a fair River, which our People were at the Mouth of, but could not learn its Name. I suppose its the same the *French* call *Moin-gona*. Some make it to proceed from the *Mitchayoma* or long River, as may be discern'd in the annex'd Map; but as all our Journals are silent in that Matter, so shall I, till some more perfect Discoveries thereof afford us further Light and Certainty therein.

When you are ascended about 40 Leagues more; then on the East-side, falls into the *Meschacebe*, the River *Misconsing*. This is much of the same Nature with that of the *Alinouecks*, whether you consider its Breadth, Depth and Course; as also the Pleasantness, and Fertility of the Country, adjacent unto all its Branches. After you have row'd or sail'd up it 60 Miles, joyns with it, the River of the *Kikapoux*, which is also Navigable, and comes a great Way from the North-East. Eighty Miles further, almost directly East, there is a ready Communication,

cation, by a Carriage of 2 Leagues, with the River of *Misconiqui*, which hath a quite contrary Course, running to the North-East, and empties itself, after a Passage of 150 Miles from the Land Carriage, into the great Bay of the *Pouteouatamis*, or the *Puans*, which joyns, on the North-West, with the great Lake of the *Almoueckes*. This River and Bay I shall have Occasion to mention, when I come to describe the vast Lakes, or Seas of Fresh-Water, which are to the East of the *Meschacbe*.

Forty Leagues higher, on the same Side, is the fair large River *Mitchaoywa*, which is the same the *Baron le Hontan*, calls the long River; and gives a very particular Description thereof, having navigated it almost to its Heads. It has a Course of above 500 Miles, and the Southern Rivers, of which it is compos'd, are near the Northern Heads of the River of the *Messourites*, both taking their Original from the Mountains, which divide this Country, from that which leads to the *South Sea*. Several Rivers proceed from the other side of the Mountains, which are easily pass'd in less than one Day, and fall into the same Lake abovemention'd, which discharges itself by a great River into the afore-said Sea. As you ascend this River from the *Meschacbe*, you meet with the Nations *E-koro's*, *Essanape*, *Gnasitaries*, who have each many Towns, and very populous. And the said *Baron* acquaints us, from very good Infor-

mation, That beyond these Hills, are Two or Three Mighty Nations, under Potent Kings, abundantly more civiliz'd, numerous, and warlike, than their Neighbours, differing greatly in Customs, Buildings, and Government, from all the other Natives of this Northern Continent; That they are clothed, and build Houses, and Ships, like *Europeans*, having many of great Bigness, in length 120 or 130 Foot, and carry from 2, to 300 Men, which navigate the great Lake, and it is thought the adjacent Parts of the Ocean. And *Herrera*, *Gomara*, and some other *Spanish* Historiographers assert, that the *Spaniards* saw, upon that Coast, such Ships, which they apprehended, came from *Japan* or *China*.


A little higher up is the River *Chabadeba*, above which the *Meschacebe* makes a fine Lake, 20 Miles long, and 8 or 10 broad.

Nine or 10 Miles above that Lake, on the East-side, is a large fair River call'd the River of *Tortoises*, after you have entered a little Way, which leads far into the Country to the North-East, and is navigable by the greatest Boats 40 Miles. About the same Distance further up, the *Meschacebe* is precipitated from the Rocks about 50 Foot, but is so far Navigable by considerable Ships, as also beyond, excepting another Fall 80 or 90 Miles higher, by large Vessels unto its Sources, which are in the Country of the *Sieux*, not at a very great Distance

stance from *Hudson's Bay*. There are many other smaller Rivers which fall into the *Meschacebe*, on both Sides of it, but being of little Note, and the Description of them of small Consequence, I have pass'd them over in Silence.

CHAP. II.

A Description of the Countries, People, Rivers, Bays, Harbours and Islands, to the East of the Meschacebe, which do not communicate with it.

 NOW proceed to describe that Part of this Province, which is to the East of the *Meschacebe*; the Rivers, which pass through it, having no Communication therewith. From the *Peninsula* of *Florida*, where this Country begins, to the South-East, there are only two large Rivers: The First that of *Palache*, the true *Indian* Name, by the *Spaniards* call'd the River of

Spirito Santo or of *Apalache*, adding an *A*, after the *Arabian* manner, from which a great Part of their Language is deriv'd; as in the Provinces of *Nilco*, *Minoia*, they pronounce *Anilco*, and *Aminoia*, and so in divers others. This River enters the Gulph of *Mexico* about 100 Miles from the Cod of the Bay of *Palache*, at the North-West End of the *Peninsula* of *Florida*, in 30 Degrees of North Latitude, and some few Minutes. It is somewhat hard to find, by Reason of the *Illes* and *Lagunes* before it; and though a stately River, and comes far out of the Country, hath not above 2 Fathoms and a half, or 3 Fathoms Water at most on the Barr, as the People sent on Discovery found; but that being pass'd its very deep and large; and the Tide flows higher than into any other River upon all the Coast, some affirm 50 Miles, which is no wonder, the Country being a perfect Level, and the River having a double Current; one from the South, all along the *Peninsula*, from 25 Degrees to 30: The other from the West. Near it, on both Sides towards the Sea-Coast, dwell divers Nations, *Palachees*, *Chattoes*, *Sul-luggoes*, *Tommakees*, &c; who are generally call'd by one Name of *Apalatchy Indians*. This River proceeds chiefly from Rivers, which have their Origin on the South or South-West side of the great Ridge of Hills, that divides this Country from *Carolina*, and is suppos'd to have a Course of about 400 Miles.

Miles. Upon or near the Middle of it live the great Nations of the *Cushetaes*, *Tallibou-sies* and *Adgebaches*.

To the West of this, is the famous *Coza*, or as ours call it the *Coussa* River, and the *French Mobile*, the biggest, next unto *Meschacebe*, and *Hohio*, of any in this, or the Neighbouring Provinces. Its first Heads are likewise from the aforesaid *Patacheau* Mountains. The most Northerly being at *Gnaxula* Town and Province, near the Foot of the Mountain. Many Rivulets uniting, after a Course of 80 Miles, form a River bigger than the *Thames* at *Kingston*, making several delicious Isles, some 3, or 4 Miles long, and Half a Mile broad; the Country is wonderful pleasant and fertile. The first considerable Town or Province is *Chiaba*, famous for its Pearl-Fishing, there being thereabouts, in the River and little Lakes it makes, a Sort of Shell-Fish, the Ancients nam'd *Pinna*, between a Muscle and Oyster; concerning which I have discours'd in the Account of the Produces or Commodities of this Country. From thence the River grows larger and deeper, by Accession of others from the Mountains, and from the West, until it enters the Province of *Coza*, or *Coussa*, which is reckon'd one of the most pleasant and fruitful Parts of this Country, and very populous. Through this *Ferdinando Soto* pass'd, and resided therein a considerable Time; and all the *Spanish*

Writers of this famous Expedition, extoll them above any other Nation, for Extent of Territory, the Pleasantness, Healthfulness, Fruitfulness thereof, and the good Disposition of the Inhabitants. The faithful and judicious *Portuguese* unknown Author of that Expedition, in a few Words thus describes this Province.

It consists of Hills and Vallies between.
 “ Their Granaries were full of *Indian* Corn,
 “ and other Edibles; so populous, that their
 “ Towns and Fields, sow’d with Corn,
 “ touch’d each other; the Country is very
 “ agreeable, by Reason of many Rivulets,
 “ which make lovely Meadows. There grow
 “ naturally in the Fields, Prunes, better
 “ than we can in *Spain* produce by Cul-
 “ ture, even in our Gardens. Vines mount,
 “ in almost all Places near the Rivers, to
 “ the Tops of the Trees. There are divers
 “ other Sorts of Vines which are low, and
 “ some run upon the Ground, and by cul-
 “ tivating might be wonderfully improv’d,
 “ tho’ very good and pleasant, as they are
 “ in their natural State.”

Below these on the same River, are the *Ullibalies*, or as some, the *Olibahalies* and according to the *French* the *Allibamous*: And below them the *Tallises*, who dwell upon a fair River which enters that of *Coza* from the East, thence to the once great Province of *Tasculuxa*, almost destroy’d by *Ferdinando Soto*; but the chief City *Mouvilla*, which

the

the *English* call *Maubela*, and the *French* *Mobile*, is yet in Being, tho' far short of its former Grandeur. About 100 Miles from hence, it enters the Gulph of *Mexico*, being first increas'd, as by many small Rivers and Rivulets, so by the fair River of the *Chattas*, which is made by a Collection of several other little Streams and Rivers, and which at length form a fine River that would seem considerable, if it were not obscur'd by the great River in which it is lost. This mighty Nation of the *Chattas* consisting of near 3000 Fighting Men, live chiefly about the Middle of the River, and is not far from the *Chicaza's*, whom I mention'd to inhabit 30 or 40 Towns, in the Description of the *Casqui* or *Cusates* River, and speak the same Language. And to the East between them and the *Cozas*, are the *Becaes* or *Abecaes*, who have 13 Towns, and dwell upon divers small Rivers, which run into the *Coussa*. It is a very pleasant Country, like that of the *Coza*, full of Hills and Vallies; their Ground is generally more marly, or fatter than many other Provinces, which are mostly of a lighter Mould. And a little more to the South-West, between the *Becaes* and *Chattas*, dwell in divers Towns, being 500 Fighting Men, the *Ewemalas*, upon a fair River of their Name, which coming from the East, mixes with the *Coussa*. This mighty River enters the Gulph of *Mexico*, about 15 Leag. to the West of the great Bay of *Nassau* or *Spirito*

Spirito Santo, or from the N. E. Cape of Mirtle Isle, which is the South Land, between which, and the Continent to the North, is the Entrance of that vast Inlet. The River runs into a Kind of a *Lagune* or Bay, which is barred 4 Miles from the Mouth of the River, suppos'd to be occasion'd, as the *Meschacebe*, in long Process of Time, by the Silt or Sediment of the Water, this being almost as muddy, coming, for the most Part, thro' a rich Clay or Marle; so that at the Barr, when it is Low-Water (and it flows little there; excepting the South Wind drive in a great Sea) there is not above 14 or 15 Foot; but the Mouth being some Miles Broad, and our People not having Leisure to examine nicely, perhaps there may be found deeper Places upon other Parts of the Barr; but so soon as you are over it, there is a most noble Harbour, very large, from 4 to 6 Fathom Depth. Near the Mouth of this River the French have lately made a new Settlement, call'd *Fort-Louis*, which is the usual Residence of the Chief Governor of *Louisiana*, who is nevertheless subordinate to him of *Canada*. In this Fort are some Companies of Soldiers, and from thence Detachments are sent to secure the several Stations, they have amongst the *Indians* in the Inland Parts.

As the *Ullibalys* or *Allibamous*, *Chicazas*, and *Chattaes*, are the most populous and Potent Nations upon and between this River and the

the *Meschacebe*, the *English* for several Years resided peaceably amongst, carry'd on a considerable Trade with, and were as Friends kindly entertain'd by them, till about the Year 1715. by the Intrigues and Practices of the *French*, they were either murther'd, or oblig'd to retire, and make Room for those new Intruders, who have since unjustly possess'd and fortify'd the very same Stations, in order to keep the Natives in Awe and Subjection, and to cut off the Communication of the *English* Traders with the *Indians* thereabouts, and as far as, and beyond the *Meschacebe*; whereby they have secur'd to themselves an extensive and profitable Trade of above 500 Miles, which the Subjects of *Great-Britain* were a few Years ago the Sole Masters of.

Besides the *French* Settlement abovemention'd on the Continent, they have another small Town and Fort in the Isle *Dauphine*; formerly call'd *Slaughter Island*, from a great Number of Mens Bones found there on its first Discovery, the Remains, as is said, of a bloody Battle fought between two Nations of *Indians*. This Island lies about 9 Leag. South of *Fort Louis*, and 14 Leag. West of *Pensacola*. It is inhabited and fortify'd only on Account of its Harbour, it being the first Place the *French* Shipping usually touch at in their Voyage from *France*. The Distance between this River, and that of *Palache* or *Spirito Santo* to the East,

East, is about 190 Miles. The Coast between them is very deep and bold, contrary to all former Maps; for those sent upon Discovery sounded several Times every Day and found it so, as by the Journals will appear.

Between those two great Rivers are divers Harbours, the Chief and indeed the best, upon all the Coast of the Gulph of *Mexico*, is *Pensicola*, a large Harbour, and very safe from all Winds, has 4 Fathom at the Entrance, and deepens gradually to 7 or 8. To the East of the Harbour, enters a fine River, which comes about 100 Miles out of the Country, and is made of two Rivers, which unite some Miles above. This Harbour or Bay lies 90 Leagues West from the upper Part of the *Peninsula* of *Florida*. On the Lar-Board or West-side of the Harbour stands a poor Town containing about 40 *Palmetto* Houses, with a small stockadoed Fort of 12 or 14 Guns, but of little Moment; because all their Soldiers, and the Majority of the Inhabitants, are *Forc'adoes* or forc'd People, having been Malefactors in some Parts of *Mexico*, therefore are confin'd in that Place for a Number of Years, according to the Nature of their Crimes. In short they are not unlike our Felons, which are transported from the Jails in *England* to the Plantations. The *French* in the Year 1719. took this Fort with small Loss from the *Spaniards*, who in a few Months retook it again. The first of these made themselves
Masters

Masters thereof a second Time, but whether they have deserted it, or keep it still in their Possession I know not.

If the *French* secure this Port and Harbour, which is not above 14 Leagues East of their chief Settlement at *Mobile*, they may with ease, at all Seasons, infest, with large Men of War and Privateers, the Navigation of the *English* and *Spaniards* in the Bay of *Mexico*, by lying in Wait for and intercepting their Fleets and private Ships, trading to and from *Panuco*, *Vera Cruz*, *Campeche*, *Porto Bel-ly*, *Jamaica*, and the *Havana*.

Thirty Leagues to the East is *Apalatchy-Cola*, which is also a good Harbor, and West of *Apalatchy* River 30 Leagues.

The Bay of *Nassau* or *Spirito Santo* is made by Four Islands, which run almost due South, a little inclining to the West. The most Northerly, between which and the Main is the Entrance of the Bay, being 8 Leagues long, our People call'd *Mirtle-Island*, from the great Quantity of that Tree or Shrub, which grows there, where digging they found excellent good Water very plentifully. This Island in some Places is very narrow. Whether it be the same the *French* call *Isle aux Vaisseaux*, or Ships Island, I can't tell, but its Situation, Distance from *Isle Dauphine*, or Slaughter Island, and its Commodiousness for sheltring Ships from the Wind, creates a Probability of its being so. The Bay is 15 Miles broad, from Mirtle Island to a Row
of

of Islands, which run Parallel with the Main, and another Bay or *Lagune* between them, within which They did not go. These Islands stretch Southward 50 or 60 Miles, as far as one of the smaller Mouths of the *Meschacebe*, and doubtless there must be very good Harbours, being defended from the Sea and Winds by a double Row of Islands, and having probably good Depths. Our People visited only the most Northerly, which they nam'd *Rose-Island*, a most fragrant Smell coming from it 3 Leagues off, which exceeded all Perfumes; it is about 16 Miles long, and 2 Leagues or more from the Northern or Western Main. Between this and *Mirtle-Island*, the Depths of Water were 4, 5, 6, 5, 4 Fathom. *Rose-Island* is a brave Island, and full of Wood. They found it somewhat difficult to go down the Bay between the Islands, meeting with some Shoals, where they had not much above 2 Fathom Water. They turn'd round *Mirtle-Island* into the Main-Sea, and coasted the East-side, which is very bold. Over against *Mirtle-Island* to the North, about 5 Leagues distance, on the Main-Land, is a high Point of Woods, where is the Entrance of *Little Meschacebe*, or the East Branch which I mention'd in my Description of the great River. And about 15 Leagues to the North East of this Branch of the *Meschacebe*, is the Bay of *Billocoby*, which is, within a fair Harbour, with a small River falling into or
near

near it, call'd *Passagoula*, bordering on which and the aforesaid Bay, is a fine Country, but on the Barr there is not above 7 or 8 Foot Water. It was on the Continent lying, I think, on the Easterly Part of this Bay, that Monsieur d' *Iberville* in the Beginning of the Year 1700. built a small Sconce, and left therein about Forty Men well provided with Necessaries. He afterwards return'd twice to *France* for further Reinforcements, but on his Third Voyage back to *Biloco* he died. The *French* being about that Time hotly engag'd in a War with the *English* and their Confederates in *Europe*, this and another small Settlement, they had thereabouts, were deserted, for Want of timely and necessary Supplies.

Our Ship pass'd on the East-side of *Mirtle Island*, which is 24 Miles long, and Three other Islands, there being Openings between a Mile or 2 over. The Fourth and Last Island, is the broadest and highest, and a good Mark to find the *Meschacebe*. These Islands lie all together in a direct Line South and by West, East and by North, at least 50 Miles, and have all along, 2 Leagues off, from 5 to 9 Fathom Water. When you come to the Fourth Isle you must be cautious, the Sounding being uncertain; for some Points of Sand stretch out into the Sea 3 Leagues, and varies the Depths from 9 Fathoms to 4, then 8, 9, all at once. Between

tween this Island and the Main, is a Passage 2 Leagues broad, which leads into the great Bay from which they came. The Length of the Bay from North to South is one entire Degree. They went divers Leagues up it, and found deep Water; but afterwards it Shoaling, they came down South, and doubled the Cape, where the most Easterly of the Three great Branches of the *Meschacebe* enter'd the Sea, which, with the Two others to the West, I described before, when I gave an Account of the Mouths of that River.

Altho' the Latitude and Longitude of the Mouths of the *Meschacebe* were perfectly known, yet it is almost impossible, in the Common Way of Sailing to come at them; for if you go never so little to the South, you will be driven by a very strong Current to the South-West 2 Miles an Hour, till you come to the Bottom or West-End of the Gulph of *Mexico*; to prevent which you must make the Main of *Florida* in about 30 Degrees of Latitude. The Land is so very low you can scarcely see it, at 4 Leagues distance, where there is 45 and 50 Fathom, but 10 Leagues off, there's no Ground at 100 Fathom. *Pensicola* is the most convenient Place to fall in withall; and to be sure of that, your best Way is to make the *Tortuga* Islands, which are Seven, and but few Leagues distance to the N. W. from the Cape of *Florida*, and the little Islands which

which lie before it, call'd *Los Martyres*. The *Tortuga* Islands lie between the Latitude of 24 Degrees, and from 35 to 50 Minutes. They are not in a Round, as commonly represented in Charts, but bear almost N. and South. If you come there in the Months of *April*, *May*, or the Beginning of *June*, you will find great Numbers of Turtle, which are then in good Plight, extraordinary good Food both fresh and salted, and a wholesome Change of Diet for Seamen, afterwards they will not well take Salt, decaying and running into a Gelly or Water, and before *July* is expir'd quite leave the Islands 'till the next Year. The Course from the *Tortuga* Islands to *Pensicola*, is N. 44 W. distance 158 Leagues, the Shore bold, bearing East and West. Nine Leagues from the Land you will have 33 Fathom Water, but if you make the River of the *Coxas* or *Couffas* which is 167 Leagues, and a very remarkable Place, being a spacious large Opening, having a small sandy Isle in the Middle, you'll find the Land stretch East and West, and within about 18 Leagues you will fall in with *Mirtle-Island*, which, with the Main, makes the Entrance into the great Bay of *Spirito Santo*; in which Isle, as I said before, is very good fresh Water. This with Five or Six other low Isles, run in a Range 14 Leagues, and S. W. from them, about 5 Leagues, are high Woods: Stand over for the South Part
D of

of these Woods, until you come to 4 Fathoms, there cast your Anchor, and send your Boat to a low Point along the Shore to the Southward. In 5 Foot Water you will find a small Branch of the River; row up it, the Current, will carry you to the Barr, where you may take your Marks for the Entrance into it. Perhaps some Times the Waters may be so low that you cannot pass this Channel: In Case this should happen (which I suppose it seldom or never doth) then run by the Soundings of the Shore, in 5 or 6 Foot Water, and keep that Depth till you come to the Pitch of the East Cape, where you will find the Easterly Branch in 14 or 15 Foot Water: Then row up, take your Marks, return, and place two Buoys, and you may carry your Ship in to the River very safely, as you may perceive by the Draught. The same or like Caution must be us'd, for entering into either of the other Mouths, to keep near the Shore, and by anchoring stop the Tide of Ebb. There is a Bay, which our Men in the Ship, call'd *Salt-Water Bay*; They who went to the Head of it, *Fresh-Water Bay*; a seeming Contradiction, but thus easily reconcil'd. This Bay lies between the East and Middle great Branch of the River: The great Branches bring down so considerable a Quantity of Water, at the Ebb, with a strong Current, that then the fresh Water enters the Sea 2 or 3 Leagues, and

and between them the Sea enters this Bay, not mixing with the Waters of the Rivers, which are 10 Miles distant; so that Ships, who anchor at the lower End of the Bay, find the Waters Salt; but there is a Creek, at the N. W. End of the Bay, which comes out of the Middle Branch, and a little before it enters the Bay is divided. This Creek hath from 8 Foot at the shallowest to 9, 10 and 11 Foot Water, by which they enter'd, out of *Salt-Water Bay*, into the River.



CHAP. III.

A Description of the Sea-Coast, the large Rivers, their Heads and Courses, beyond or to the West of Meschacebe.

HAVING made a faithful Narrative, from good Journals and Itineraries by Sea and Land, of the great River *Meschacebe*, the Rivers increasing it, the Countries adjacent, and Inhabitants thereof: As also of the Countries, People, Rivers and Harbors, towards the East belonging unto this Province, which do not communi-

cate with it, I shall give a brief Relation of what I have learn'd, concerning the Sea and Coast thereof, beyond the *Meschacebe*, to the West, the Rivers belonging to this Province, their Heads and Courses, which enters not the *Meschacebe*.

When you are pass'd the Third or Westerly Branch of the *Meschacebe*, there presents it'self a fair Bay going to the North, into which empties themselves two of the smaller Branches of the great River, as may be discern'd in the Chart. This Bay is between 20 and 30 Miles deep, and very bold to the East, having from the Entrance unto the Bottom, from 25 to 6 Fathom; but is not in those Depths, above 7 or 8 Miles broad, a Sand running from the Main 30 Miles South into the Sea, upon which there is not above 3 Fathom, which yet our Ship pass'd, going and returning. At the North East End of the Bay, the great River runs Parrellel with it for some Miles, from a Mile to a Mile and a Half distance from it, and two fair, large deep Creeks enter it, almost in the Middle, out of the Westerly great Branch of the River. Having pass'd this Shoal to the Main, the Land runs almost due East and West, having a bold Coast, for a 100 Miles until you come to a great Shoal, where there is not above 2 or 3 Fathom Water, with several Breakers. Our People sail'd 62 Leag. on the S. side of this great Shoal, always out of the sight of Land, therefore

therefore knew not the Breadth: They kept near the Latitude of 29 Degrees, the Depths generally as follows, 7, 8, 9, 8, 7, 6 Fathom: At length they came to the Bottom of the Bay or Gulph, from whence they return'd unto the Westerly Branch of the *Meschacebe*.

From the River *Meschacebe* unto the Bottom of the Bay are innumerable fine small Rivers, very pleasant: Great Store of Buffaloes or wild Kine frequent them to the very Sea-side, as also Deer of divers Sorts, wild Turkeys, and many other large Water and Sea-Fowl; the Coast abounds with good Fish; but I cannot learn there are above Four very large Rivers, and of long Course.

The first and greatest is that of the *Quonatinnos*, or of the *Coenis*, a great and populous Nation, who dwell in Forty or Fifty Villages upon the Middle of this River, and others which run into it. They are about five Days Journey distant from the Habitations of the *Spaniards* and near 200 Miles from the Sea, into which the River empties itself, about 80 Leagues to the West of the *Meschacebe*; it is broad, deep, and Navigable almost to its Heads, which chiefly proceed from the Ridge of Hills that separate this Province from *New Mexico*: And its North West Branches, approach near the South-West Branches of the River of the *Houmas*, There dwell upon it, more to-

wards its Mouth, divers other Nations, whose Names are unknown, excepting the *Tarahas*, *Tycappans*, *Palogueffens* and *Palonnas*: All these Nations have good Horses.

About 30 Leagues further to the South of the West, is the River of the *Kirononas*, who with divers other Nations dwell thereupon. It is little less than that of the *Ko-noatinnos*, and as that hath its Sources in the Mountains of *New Mexico*, the Course of this is likewise from the N. W. until it enters the Sea.

Between this and the aforesaid River of *Quonoatinnos* or *Coenis*, lies the Bay of *St. Bernard*, call'd by *Monfieur de la Salle*, the Bay of *St. Louis*, and a River that falls into it he nam'd the River of *Vaches*. In the Year 1685. he built there a Fort (after he had purposely, as it is said, overshot the Mouth of the River *Meschacebe*) having form'd a Design from thence to visit the Mines of *St. Barbe* in *New Biscay*, which were not much above 300 Miles distant. But one of his Vessels returning to *France*, and the other Three being lost with great Part of his Stores, Ammunition and Provisions; withal failing in his Attempt to engage the *Indians* in his Party and Interest, who, instead of Friends, prov'd his mortal Enemies, continually sculking about his infant Settlement, and destroying many of his People, he was oblig'd to desist from that Enterprize. He afterwards with Twenty chosen Men went
by

by Land in search of the River *Meschacebe*, in which Attempt he lost his Life, being barbarously murder'd by some of his own Followers. This Fort was soon after taken and destroy'd by the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, all the *French* remaining therein, being either kill'd or made Prisoners.

About the same Distance further S. W. is the River of the *Biscaterongs*, which is of the same Magnitude with the former, hath the same Course from the N. W. to the Sea, and its Heads from the same Mountains.

The last River of Note is a River of much the same Bigness with the two preceding, and enters the Bay of *Mexica* at the N. W. End, between the Degrees of 27 and 28, it is nam'd *Abotas*.

It may not be amiss to mention another River, which altho' it be not within the Bounds of this Colony, may be of great Use, when it is well establish'd, by Reason of the Conveniency of Traffick with the *Spaniards*, it being near the aforesaid famous Mines of *New Biscay*, a large Province lying between *Mexico* and *New Mexico*. This stately River hath its Fountains, in the most Northerly Parts of *New Mexico* in the Latitude of 38 Degrees, and being gradually increas'd by the Conflux of many small Waters, becomes large and Navigable, till it approaches the 30th Degree; then it turns to the S. E. and enters a Parcel of high Mountains, from whence it is no fur-

ther Navigable; it is call'd by the *Spaniards*, *Rio Bravo*. They differ in their Accounts hereof; some affirming it is swallow'd up in a hideous Gulph, and passes Three Days Journey under the Earth, like their great River *Guadiana* in *Spain*, of which their famous Embassador *Gundamore* said, when asked, Whether his Master could shew such a Bridge as that over the *Thames* at *London*, that he had a Bridge upon which many Hundred Thousand Sheep daily fed. Others write that the River doth not dive under Ground, but passes among Rocks full of streight Passages, with many Cataracts; that after it has broke its Way through, it glides very placidly cross a level Country for a 150 Miles, being both large and deep, and at length empties itself into a broad and long *Lagune*, which is Navigable, with two or three Passages into it, between the Islands that form it, and whose Entrances are at least between 3 and 4 Fathom deep. I have a Journal of Captain *Parker*, who in the Year 1688, was there with Two Ships: One very large in search of a *Spanish* Wreck, but will not trouble my Reader with the Relation of what there happen'd to them. All Accounts agree this Country is well watered, that it abounds with vast Quantities of Wild Kine, the *Spaniards* call *Cibolas*, and is fruitful, pleasant and populous.

CHAP. IV.

A Description of the five great Seas or Lakes of fresh Water, which are to the North of this Province, and the West and North West of our other Plantations, on the East Side of the River Meschacebe, with the Rivers falling into them, the Countries bordering thereon, and the several Nations of Indians who inhabit therein.



Think it not inexpedient to give an Account of the great Seas or Lakes of fresh Water, which are to the North of this Country, on the East side of the *Meschacebe*, which though not in the Bounds

Bounds of this Province, may prove very beneficial, both to the Inhabitants of this and our Colonies of *New York*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, who are not very remote from some of them, and may have an easy Access thereunto, and consequently by Navigation with those that are more remote, they having all Communication with each other, as may be presently discern'd by the Map.

The Seas or Lakes are Five. First the superior Lake beforemention'd, it being of almost Northerly, and is call'd by most of the Savages, the Lake of the *Nadouessons*, the greatest and most valiant Nation of the North, divided into several Tribes, who go by divers Names. This Lake is esteem'd at least 150 Leagues in Length, 60 Leagues in Breadth, and 500 in Circumference. The South side, which we reckon its length is all along situated in very near 46 Degrees of Latitude from the East End to the West. The North side where it is broadest, is in about 49 Deg. It is all over Navigable, hath some Isles; but one especially call'd *Minong* above 60 Miles in Compass, wherein, both *Indians* and *French* affirm, is a great Mine of very pure Copper, which from the Oar, affords without any Preparation besides melting, above 3 Fifths fine Metal. It is very remarkable of this Sea, that on all the South side upon the Shore, it is not above 4 or 5 Fathom deep, and gradually increases as
you

you pass over to the North, until you cannot find Bottom with 150 Fathom of Line. It is most wonderfully stored with admirable Fish, and the Land about it with Deer and Elk, or Moose, especially the North side. With this latter and some Islands, the *French* drive a considerable Trade among the Natives, for Skins and Furs; and of late Years have intercepted a great Part of the more remote *Indians*, who us'd formerly to Traffick with the *English*, in *Hudson's Bay*, at *Port Nelson* and *New Severn*. This Lake or Sea is made up of innumerable small Rivers and Rivulets, and Three large Rivers, all on the North side of the Lake, entering at the N. E. End thereof, whose Names are *Lemipissaki*, *Michipiketon* and *Nemipigon*, which last proceeds out of a Lake, of the same Name, full of Islands; at the upper End whereof, enters a River, which comes from the North, and hath its Origine from divers small Lakes and Marshes. The Lake of *Nemipigon* is above 200 Miles in Compass. The *Barron le Hontan* is certainly mistaken about the Original of this River, and makes it vastly bigger than it is; he accounts it the Head of the great River of *Canada* or *St. Laurence*, and to come out of the Lake of the *Assenipourvals*; but I have been inform'd by a Person who liv'd two Years in those Parts, and had often been upon these two Lakes, that the Lake of the *Assinipoualaos* (for that is the true Name) which

is considerable to the N. W. and as the *Indians* often assur'd, was the biggest Lake in all this Northern Continent, had no Communication with that of *Nemipigon*. The N. W. of this Lake *Superiour* or of the *Nadouessons*, is not above 30 Leagues in a streight Line; from the Lake of *Nemipigon*; but the Communication by Land is difficult, by Reason the Earth abounds with Bogs and Marshes.

The great or superior Lake empties itself into that of *Karegnondi* or the deep Lake, it being in most Parts more profound than the Three we shall hereafter mention. Formerly it was call'd the Lake *Hounondate*, from a great Nation, who inhabited on its East side, nam'd from their brisly Hair on their Head, *Hurons*, since totally destroy'd or dispers'd into very remote Parts by the *Irocois*.

This Lake is much of the Figure of an equilateral Triangle, whose Basis is to the North. It abounds with divers Sorts of excellent Fish, great and small, especially a large Fish nam'd *Affihendo*, of the Bigness of *Newfoundland* Codd. This Fish is the *Manna* of most of the Nations which inhabit about the Lake, being half their Subsistence. And *Europeans* of all Nations, who have eaten thereof, agree, there is not in Seas or Rivers, a better tasted, more wholesome Fish, and the Numbers are such as of Codd on the Bank of *Newfoundland*, and never to be less'n'd,

lessen'd. Besides these, there is Abundance of good Sturgeons, Salmon or Salmon Trouts, weighing from Twenty to Fifty Pounds, large Carps, and many other Kinds of Fish, small and great, not inferior to any in *Europe*. The Inhabitants almost round this Lake are mostly destroy'd by the *Irocois*, except a small Remnant of Two or Three Nations, who have, with the Help of the *French*, erected a strong Fort, near another built by that Nation for a Refuge to their Allies and Traders, when the *Irocois* happen to invade these, or the adjacent Parts. This Lake hath many Islands, especially on the North side, where the greatest Fishery is for the *Assihendo*, but none at *Maintoualin*, which is 20 Leagues long and 10 broad, lying directly over against the Continent, from which it is only 6 or 7 Leagues distant.

The North-side of the Country bordering upon this Lake, is not so pleasant in most Places as the South, East and West; but to make amends, it abounds with all Sorts of Skins and Furrs, and hath these great Conveniencies, that by the River of the *Nepiserini*, there is a Communication with all the *French* of *Canada*, and many Nations bordering thereupon; for ascending this River, you enter into a large Lake of the same Name, which is made by divers small, and one large River coming far from the North-West. Near this Lake, passes the
great

gret River of the *Ontonags*, once a great Nation, but now almost extirpated by the aforesaid *Irocois*, which after a Course of 100 Leag. brings you to the Island and City of *Montreall*, the next for Bigness and Strength to *Quebec*, the Capital of *Canada*, and there joins with the great River of *St. Laurence*; from the Juncture of those Two Rivers to *Quebec*, is 60 Leagues. Both Sides of the River are inhabited all the Way in Plantations very little remote from each other; besides Two or Three small Towns and Fortifications. Such another Communication there is, though much more easy, of which I shall discourse at large, when I come to describe the lovely *Peninsula* of *Erie*.

Towards the lower End of the South-West Continent, is the large and fair Bay of *Sakinam*, which is about Fifty Miles deep and 18 wide, and in the Middle of the Opening are Two Isles very advantageously situated, for sheltring Boats or other Vessels, that happen to be surpriz'd with a Storm; there being no other Harbour within divers Leagues. Into the Bottom of this Bay empties itself, after a Course of 60 Leagues, a very still quiet Stream, excepting Three small Falls, pass'd easily and without the least Danger. On this River and the Branches thereof, is one of the greatest *Beavours* Huntings in *America*. Twenty Leagues from this Bay to the South-East, this

this Lake, which is above 400 Leagues in Circumference, empties itself into the Lake Erie by a Channel, which I shall describe, when I have given an Account of the Lake of the *Illinoueeks*, which is to the West of *Karegnondi*, and communicates therewith, towards the N. W. End, by a Streight, 9 or 10 Miles long, and 3 or 4 broad. The Breadth of it on the North Coast, is 40 Leag. but it increases gradually in Breadth, till you come to the Bottom of the Bay. The North-side is in the Latitude of 45 and 30 Minutes; the South in almost 42 Degrees. Forty Leagues from the Entrance due West, it makes the great Bay of the *Pontouotamis*, a Nation who inhabit a large Country upon, and to the South of this Bay, which is 8 Leagues broad, and 30 Leagues deep, South and by West, the Entrance being full of Islands. And into the Bottom comes the fair River *Miscouaquit*, after a Course of 200 Miles. This River is remarkable upon divers Accounts; First when you are ascended it 50 Leagues, there is a Carriage of a little above a League and a half; afterwards you meet with the lovely River *Mesconsing*, which carries you down into the *Meschacebe*, as I before declar'd. Next upon this River especially near the Carriage, is a Country famous for *Beavours* Hunting like that of *Sakinam*. You must know, that most Parts of *North-America* have *Beavours*; you shall scarce meet with

with a Lake, where there are not some of their Dams and Hutts. But these two Places I have mention'd, and others I shall speak of hereafter, are Countries 40 or 50 Miles long, abounding with small Rivers and Rivulets, wherewith they make their Dams or Cawfways; and consequently small Lakes, feated opportunely for Wood to build, and produces plentifully such Plants and young Trees, upon which they mostly subsist. This is chiefly possess'd by the industrious and valiant Nation of the *Outogamis*. Thirdly, This River and others entering thereinto, abound in that Corn call'd *Malomin*, which grows in the Water in marshy wet Places, as Rice in the *Indies*, *Turkey* and *Carolina*, &c: But much more like our Oats, only longer, bigger, and better, than either that, or *Indian* Corn, and is the chief Food of many Nations hereabouts and elsewhere. The Nations who dwell on this River, are *Outogamis*, *Malominis*, *Nikit*, *Oualeanitou*, *Sacky*, and the *Poutouatamis* beforemention'd.

On the East-side of this Lake, about 20 Leagues from the Streight by which it enters *Karegnondi*, is a Bay call'd *Bear Bay*, and a River of the same Name, because of great Numbers of those Animals, who haunt those Parts. This River comes out of a Ridge of Hills near 100 Leagues long, beginning almost at the North End of this *Peninsula*, out of which flow abundance of small Rivers; those, whose Course is to the

the East, empty themselves into the Lake *Karegnondi*. Those to the West, into that of the *Alinouecks*. The Top of this Ridge of Hills is flat, from whence there is a delicious Prospect into both Lakes, and level as a Tarasse-Walk. There is a great Beaver Hunting, like those I formerly mention'd, upon *Bear River*, which hath a Course of 46 or 50 Leagues. On the West-side of the Lake, before you come to the Bottom, is a Harbour capable of small Ships; and there enters into it a small River, which at 2 Leagues distance, approaches the River *Che-cagou*, the North Branch of the River of the *Allinouecks*, which is, from the main Branch of the said River 50 Miles. Near the Bottom of the Bay on the East-side, is the fair River of the *Miamihac* (so call'd because upon it lives Part of a Nation bearing the same Name) which in its Passage comes within 2 Leagues of the great Easterly Branch of the River of the *Allinouecks*, and its Springs are very near the Heads of some Rivers which enter the *Ouabachi*. Monsieur de la Salle on his first Arrival in this River, which was about the Year 1679. finding it admirably well situated for Trade, and the Country surrounding it extremely pleasant and fertile, artfully gain'd the Permission of the Natives to build a Fort therein, under the specious Pretence of protecting them from the Insults of the *English* and *Irocois*, whom he represented as cruel and

E treache-

treacherous Enemies, continually plotting the Destruction of them, and all the *Indians* round about. In this Fort was formerly a great Magazine and Storehouse for all Sorts of *European* Goods, and hither the Traders and Savages continually resorted to purchase them. It commanded the Entrance into the Lake, and kept all the Neighbouring *Indians* in Awe and Subjection. Nations to the West of this Lake, besides the beforementioned, are Part of the *Outogamis*, *Mascoutens* and *Kikpouz*; then the *Ainoves*, the *Cascaschia*, and a little to the South-West of the Bottom of this Lake, and more to the North, the *Anthontans*, and Part of the *Mascoutens*, near the River *Misconsing*. The Countries surrounding this Lake, especially towards the South, are very charming to the Eye, the Meadows, Fruit-Trees and Forests, together with the Fowls, wild Beasts, &c. affording most Things necessary for the Support and Comfort of Life, besides *Indian* Corn, with which the Natives abound; and *European* Fruits, Grains, and all other useful Vegetables, by Reason of the Goodness of the Soil, and Mildness of the Climate, would certainly thrive there, as well as in their Native Countries. But above all, the South Parts of the Countries bordering on this Lake, seem naturally dispos'd to produce admirable Vines, which being duly cultivated, excellent Wines might be made of the Fruits thereof, they growing naturally in

in vast Numbers of divers Sorts, some ram-
ping up to the Tops of the highest Trees ;
others running upon the Ground : The
Grapes are some very small, others wonder-
fully large, big as Damsons, and many of
a Middle Size, of divers Colours and Tastes ;
they are all good to eat, only some, which
otherwise promise very well, have great
Stones or Kernels and tough Skins, which
certainly would be remedied by due Cul-
ture. But of the worst doubtless good
Brandy might be made, were there Artists
and convenient Vessels for pressing, ferment-
ing and distilling.

There ramble about in great Herds, e-
specially about the Bottom of this Lake, in-
finite Quantities of Wild Kine. Some Hun-
dreds usually together, which is a great
Part of the Subsistence of the Savages who
live upon them while the Season of Hunt-
ing lasts ; for at those Times they leave
their Towns quite empty. They have a
Way of preserving their Flesh without Salt
6 or 8 Months, which both looks, and eats so
fresh, Strangers apprehended the Cattle had
not been kill'd one Week. Besides, they
use the Hair, or rather Wool, cut off their
Hides, for Garments, and Beds, and spin it
into Yarn, of which they make great Bags,
wherein they put the Flesh they kill, after
they have cured it, to bring Home to their
Houses ; for their Huntings are from the
latter End of *Autumn*, when the Cattle are
fat,

fat, to the beginning of the Spring, and of the Hides dress'd they make Shoes *Ala Savage*.

But its Time we should return to the Lake *Keregnondi*, which empties itself into the Lake *Erie*, by a Channel 30 Leagues long, and where narrowest a League broad; in the Middle whereof is a small Lake, called by the *Indians*, *O'seka*, 10 Leag. long and 7 or 8 over, being of an Oval Figure. In this Lake and Channel, are divers small Islands, exceedingly pleasant and fruitful, in which, and all the Country, on both Sides of them, are great Quantities of Beasts and Fowl, as Deer of several Kinds, wild Turkeys, Pheasants, and a large excellent Fowl, which they call *Dindo's*. The Lake *Erie* is about 250 Leagues long, and almost equally 40 broad. Eight Leagues from its Mouth are Eight or Ten Islands, most of them small; One in the Middle is 5 or 6 Miles in Circumference, and all very agreeable. Near the Mouth on the West-side, is a large Harbour for Ships, defended from most Winds, made like our Downs by a great Bank of Sand; tho' Winds seldom infest this Lake, in Respect of the others; where sometimes they Rage as in the Main Ocean, so that it may be deservedly call'd the *Pacifick Lake*. And if we may give Credit to the Relations of the *English* who have long frequented it, and unanimously agree herein, there is not a more pleasant Lake, or Country surrounding

rounding it in the Universe. It is not indeed so deep as the others, yet is in all Places Navigable by the greatest Ships, there being seldom less than 10 or 12 Fathom Water. The Land round about it is perfectly level, abounding with Trees, both for Timber and Fruit, so happily plac'd that One would be apt to apprehend it to be a Work of great Art, and contriv'd to declare the Grandeur and Magnificence of some mighty Emperor, and not of Nature. Abundance of small pretty Rivers, discharge themselves thereinto, amongst which are Four very considerable and remarkable. One about 10 Leagues from the Entrance of the Canal, in the Bottom of the West End of the Lake, that hath a Course of 60 Leagues, and its Head very near the River of the *Miamihaw*, which runs into the S. E. Side of the Lake of the *Illinouicks*, by Means whereof there is a short and easy Communication therewith, which by Water is above 600 Miles.

Fifty Miles further to the South, at the same West End of this Lake, is another River much of the same Bigness and Length; and about and between these two Rivers, every Year in the Season, are Multitudes of the wild Kine call'd *Cibolas*.

At the S. E. End of the Lake there is a Third River which has its Rise very near the great *Susquehannah* River, which waters Part of *Pensilvania*, and afterwards empties itself into the North-End of the Bay of

Chesapeake in *Maryland*. And 20 Leagues S. Westerly is another fair River which comes near 50 Leagues out of the Country ; from whose Head, which issues from a Lake, is but a short Cutt to the River *Hobio*, from whence to a Branch of the aforesaid *Sasquehannah* River is about 1 League.

By these two last mention'd Rivers, the *English* may have a ready and easy Communication with this and consequently with all the other Lakes. If the *French* should ever settle thereon, which for above Twenty Years they have endeavoured, but have been, in great Measure, wonderfully frustrated by the *Iroquois* our Subjects or Allies, they might greatly molest, by themselves and their *Indians*, the Colonies of *New-York*, *Pennsylvania*, *Maryland* and *Virginia*, which, I hope by the Wisdom and Care of His Majesty and Ministry, will be speedily prevented.

At the North-East End of this Lake is another Canal 40 Miles long, and in most Places a League broad, call'd by the Natives *Niagara*, having a delicate level, beautiful, fertile Country on each Side of it ; but being pass'd about two Thirds of the Way, it is straiten'd by mighty Rocks, and precipitates itself several Hundred Feet, being the greatest Catarack, that hath ever yet come unto our Knowledge, in the whole World. This lying within five or six Days Journey of *Albany* and *Schenecteda*, (two remarkable Towns and Fortifications of *New-York*)

York) and adjacent unto our Confederates or Subjects the five Nations, (by the *French* call'd *Irocois*) especially the *Sonnontouans* (by some nam'd *Senecaes*) the most populous of the Five. I have receiv'd an Account from divers Persons, who have with great Attention and Curiosity view'd it, suiting very well with the Description *Hennepin* gives thereof, who had been there several Times. The Noise of such a Multitude of Waters falling from so great a Height, is so extraordinary, that altho' the Country is very pleasant, level and fruitful below the Fall, yet the *Sonnontouans* were not able to bear it, but were forc'd to remove and settle 2 Leagues lower. I have had it from very credible People, that when the Wind sets due South, they have heard it distinctly above 30 Miles. The River, as may be easily imagin'd, below this Cataract, is very rapid, for the Space of 3 or 4 Miles; then for 6 or 8, is more placid and navigable, until it enters the Lake *Ontario*, which is 80 Leagues long, and in the Middle 25 or 30 broad, being of an Oval Figure. The Name of this Lake in the *Irocois* Language (that Nation bordering upon it to the South) signifies the pleasant or beautiful Lake, as it may be deservedly stil'd; the Country round it being very champain, fertile, and every 2 or 3 Miles water'd with fine Rivulets: It has on the South-side three fair Rivers; that next the Fall coming out of the Coun-

try of the *Sannontovans*, the Middle one from the *Onontages*, and its Origin from a Lake, within a League of their Capital Town *Onontague*, made up of many little Rivers and Rivulets, being 40 Miles in Circumference, abounding with Fish of divers Sorts with some Salt-springs entering into it. After the River hath pass'd a Mile from the Lake, it receives another coming from the West out of the Province of the *Onioets*, who are Neighbours to the *Sonnon-tovans*, in whose Country the Head of this River springs. About 10 Miles lower it is increas'd by a fair deep River, which comes from the East, out of the Country of the *Oneiouks*, one of the five Nations, situated between the *Onontages* and the *Mohacks*, who dwell in Three Towns on a fair River, which runs, after a Course of 100 Miles, into *Hudson's River* near *Albany*. The River of the *Onontagues*, enters the *Lake Ontario* 50 Miles from the little Lake whence it derives its Origin.

Twenty Leagues to the East, is another River somewhat less, but Navigable by Sloops, and large Boats a considerable Way into the Country.

About the same Distance likewise to the East, the Lake forms a great River, which the *French* call the River of the *Iroquois*; but the Natives *Kanadari*, which for the Space of 60 Miles is very broad, full of fine Islands, and runs quietly; then is interrupted

ed in its Course by divers Falls successively; some very deep and long, for above 100 Miles, until it meets with the great River of the *Outouacks*, at the End of the Island and City of *Montreal*, and together with that makes the River of *Canada* or *St. Laurence*, so nam'd by the *French*, because discover'd on the Day dedicated to his Memorial.

The North-part of the Lake *Ontario* was formerly possess'd by Two Tribes of the *Irocois*, who were in Time of perfect Peace, without the least Provocation, but only to get their Country, destroy'd, enslav'd, or sent to *France*, and put into the Gallies; of which you may read at large in the Journals of the *Baron la Hontan*, an impartial and judicious Author, who saw and relates that Tragedy with much Indignation.

The Nation of the *Irocois*, as they are call'd by the *French*, for what Reason I could never learn, who inhabit the South-part of the Country are stil'd by the *English*, the five Nations, being so many, distinct in Name, and Habitations, from each other; But leagu'd by a most strict Confederacy, like the Cantons of *Switzerland*, which they frequently in a very solemn manner renew; Especially since the *French* grew powerful in their Neighbourhood, They have always been an excellent and useful Barrier between us and them, being
ready

ready, on all Occasions, upon the most slender Invitations, and the least Assistance, to molest and invade them, unto whom, they are the most irreconcilable Enemies, and I think upon good Grounds; although the *French* say the hardest Things imaginable against them; but I believe unto any impartial Judges, they will appear more blameable themselves. The Original of this Enmity proceeded from the *French*, who, about 100 Years since, settled at the Place, now their Capital, call'd *Quebeck*. The *Irocois* knowing of the *French* little Habitation (where were not above Forty Men) came according to their usual Manner, being about 200 of their prime Youth, under an esteem'd Captain to war against the *Algonquins*, then a very populous Nation; and to shew their Contempt of them, made a Fort on the South-side of the River, before they who dwelt on the North-side could gather into a Body, Their Habitations or Villages being somewhat remote from each other: But having drawn their Forces together in great Numbers, they attack'd the *Irocois*, who always valiantly repuls'd them, with great Losses to their Enemies and little unto themselves. Whereupon the *Algonkins* had recourse unto the *French*, desiring they would assist them with their Thunder and Lightning darting Engines. They readily comply'd, and did such Execution with their Guns, (which being

ing altogether new and very surprizing or rather astonishing) that the *Irocois* were discomfited, not above Two or Three escaping to give an Account thereof to their own Countrymen, who by Tradition have propagated the Story to Posterity; which may, in some Measure, excuse the irreconcilable Enmity, this Nation hath conceiv'd against the *French*, between whom there have been formerly almost constant Wars, accompanied with various Events: The *French* with their Allies endeavouring to extirpate them, who have hitherto bravely defended themselves; the *English* for their Furrs supplying them with Ammunition, and during Time of War with the *French*, powerfully assisting them. They have been a very useful Barrier, and without their help *New York*, and probably other Neighbouring Provinces, had long since been possess'd by the *French*, having been very slenderly aided from *England*.

The *French* in all their Writings concerning *Canada*, make many tragical Relations of, and Exclamations against the barbarous Cruelties of this Nation exercis'd upon them, and the *Indians* their Allies; but seldom tell us that the very same Things are practic'd by themselves and their *Indians* against the *Irocois*, and often during Time of Peace: For when the *Irocois* or five Nations, as we call them, were abandon'd by Order of King *Charles II.* towards the latter End of his Reign, and during the whole Reign of K.
James,

James, and obnoxious unto the Resentments of the *French*, (The *English* being strictly forbidden any ways to assist them) They were under a Necessity of making a very disadvantageous Peace, which how perfidiously it was broken, may be seen at large in that faithful and judicious History of the *Baron la Hontan*. And had it not been for the Revolution in *England*, the *Irocois* had been totally destroy'd, or subjected unto the *French*, which, as I hinted before in the Preface, would have been of dreadful Consequence to divers of our *English* Colonies, on the Continent. 'Tis true, the *Irocois* have extirpated or subjected several Nations of *Indians* round about them; but it hath been either because they were in Confederacy with their Enemies, destroy'd their Country, murder'd their People, hinder'd them in their *Beaver* Hunting (without which they could not subsist) or furnish'd their Enemies with Furs, which occasion'd the increasing the Numbers of the *French* from *France*, and consequently threatned them with utter Ruin, when *Canada* shall be more populated from *Europe*. So that certainly the Measures they take for their own Preservation and Security, are more innocent, and excusable, than those have been by the *French*; Forty Years last past, exercis'd in *Europe*, whose Wars have according to a modest Calculation, occasion'd the Death of above Two Millions of their own Country People, and other *Europeans*,

Europeans, and most unjustly invaded or grievously oppress'd their Neighbours; Desire of increasing their Wealth, enlarging their Territories, or advancing the Glory of their Great Monarch, being the chief Causes, tho' some other slender and easily confuted Pretences, have sometimes been alledg'd.

But to return unto the *Iroquois* whom we call Subjects of the Crown of *England*, they only stile themselves Brethren, Friends, Allies, being a People highly tenacious of their Liberty, and very impatient of the least Incroachments thereon. These five Cantons or Nations, have sold, given, and in a very formal Publick manner, made over and convey'd to the *English* divers large Countries conquer'd from the *Indians*, upon the South-side of the great Lakes, as far as the *Meschabe*, and the noble, beautiful, fertile *Peninsula* situated between the Three Middle Lakes: That of the *Hurons* to the West, *Ontario* to the East, and *Erie* to the South; a Country almost as large as *England* without *Wales*; admirably seated for Traffick, pleasant, healthful, and fertile, as any Part of *North-America*; and the Territory to the South is of the same Nature, and Confines with the Borders of our Province of *Carolina*, which extends to all the North-side of the Gulph of *Mexico*.



C H A P. V.

A New and Curious Discovery and Relation of an easy Communication betwixt the River Meschacebe and the South-Sea, which separates America from China, by Means of several large Rivers and Lakes, with a Description of the Coast of the said Sea to the Streights of Uries. As also of a rich and considerable Trade to be carried on from thence to Japan, China and Tartary.

IT will be one great Conveniency of this Country, if ever it comes to be settled, that there is an easy Communication therewith, and the South-Sea, which

which lies between *America* and *China*, and that two Ways: By the North Branch of the great Yellow River, by the Natives call'd the River of the *Massorites*, which hath a Course of 500 Miles, Navigable to its Heads or Springs, and which proceeds from a Ridge of Hills somewhat North of *New Mexico*, passable by Horse, Foot, or Waggon in less than half a Day. On the other Side are Rivers, which run into a great Lake, that empties itself by another great Navigable River into the *South Sea*. The same may be said of the River *Meschaouay*, up which our People have been, but not so far as the *Baron le Hontan*, who pass'd on it above 300 Miles almost due West, and declares it comes from the same Ridge of Hills abovemention'd; and that divers Rivers from the other side soon make a large River, which enters into a vast Lake, on which inhabit Two or Three great Nations, much more populous and civiliz'd than other *Indians*; and out of that Lake a great River disimbogues into the *South-Sea*, which is doubtless the same with that beforemention'd, the Head of the Two Rivers being little distant from each other.

About Twelve or Fourteen Years since, I had imparted unto me a Journal from a Gentleman admirably well skill'd in Geography, especially of *America*, who had made thither divers Voyages from *New England*, and all our *English* Plantations in *America*,
and

and visited most Parts of the Gulph of *Mexico*, where he became acquainted with one Captain *Coxton* a famous Privateer, who was towards the latter End of the Reign of King *Charles II.* entertain'd in His Majesty's Service: But whether he was disobliged, or that his Genius prompted him to follow his old Trade, having with his Co-partners fitted up a Ship of 'Twenty-six Guns, He sailed to the *South-Sea*, with a Design to take the Ship, which comes annually from the *Manillias* or *Philippine* Islands in the *East-Indies* to *Acapulco*, the Chief Port of *Mexico*; which Ship, as he had been well inform'd, usually made that Part of the Continent, that lies between *Japan* and *America*, at a famous Port in 42 Degrees. But when he came to the Head of the Island, or *Peninsula* of *California* (it being too soon by some Months for the putting in Execution his intended Design,) romaging the Coast, he discover'd a great River in about

Degrees North-Latitude, which enter'd a great Lake, near the Mouth whereof he found a very convenient Island, where he staid Two or Three Months to refit himself, happening to have a Man on board, who understood the Language of the Country. The Natives finding he was engag'd in an Expedition against the *Spaniards*, treated him very kindly, supply'd him very chearfully with whatsoever he wanted, and he contracted great Friendship with them. He

calls

calls them the Nation of *Thoya*. The *Spaniards*, as I find in divers of their Expeditions, call it *Thoyago*, sometimes *Tejago*. They are often at War with the *Spaniards*, who have been always repuls'd by them. They bring Thirty or Forty Thousand Men in one Body into the Field. These and Two other Nations Neighbouring, and not much inferior unto them, are accounted the most sensible and civiliz'd *Indians* in *America*.

When the Season came fit for their Expedition, they sail'd West and by South, and happen'd to stop upon some Occasion at an Island call'd *Earinda* or *Carinda*, there were Five in all near each other, like the *Canary* Islands, but lay rounder, and were one with another about 50 or 60 Miles in Compass. The Inhabitants were not shy of them, but supply'd them with Provisions, and brought them Gold to barter for such Commodities of ours as they lik'd, and in Three or Four Days they purchas'd 86 *l.* Weight of that Metal. The Natives told them they were sorry they had no more, they taking Care to provide only against a certain Time of the Year for Persons, who came from the Sun-setting at a particular Season and barter'd divers Commodities with them for Gold. These Traders or Merchants must certainly be Inhabitants of *Japan*, which I gather from a large Relation in the History of that Island, publish'd by the *Dutch*, and translated into our Tongue, and makes the

Sixth Volume of *Ogleby's* Collections. They therein declare, That they sent from *Batavia* Two Ships (as they pretended) to discover a Passage from the North-East Part of *Japan*, round *Tartary* to *Europe*; Though, its very probable, they had other Views. These Ships were separated a little East of *Japan* by a Storm; the *Castrilome* proceeded, and found the Streight entring into the Gulph of *Tartary* or *Jesso*, and search'd the Coast on the West-side to 49 Degrees; the other Ship the *Blefkins* having suffer'd much by the Storm, put into the Port of *Namboe*; near the N. E. End of *Japan*, not doubting they should be kindly receiv'd, being in League, and having a Free Trade with that Empire; but while they were refitting, they were unexpectedly surpriz'd by the *Japanese*, sent to Court, and very strictly examin'd, whither they had not been at, or went not to discover the Gold Islands (as they call'd them) to the East, of which Traffick the Emperor is so jealous, that it is Capital for any to go thither except by his Permission, or to declare to others the Distance and Situation thereof; and had not the *Dutch* given uncontrollable Evidence, that they had not been, nor were they going thither, but only upon the forementioned Discovery, they had been all executed.

There are upon the Coast between *America* and *Japan* divers very large and safe Har-

Harbours, and a very good Climate, the Coast stretching South-West, mostly from 40 to Degrees of North-Latitude. The Seas abound with Fish, and the Land with Fowl and Venison. The Inhabitants are sociable and hospitable. I have a Draught and Journals of all the Coast from *America*, with those of divers Harbours, until you are within about 100 Leag. of the Streight of *Uries*, which the *Dutch* discover'd about Sixty or Seventy Years since, and which is the Entrance of the Sea or Gulph of *Tartary*, lying 120 Leagues North-East from *Namboe*, the most Northerly Haven and Promontory of *Japan*. This Streight, or rather, these Streights (there being Two made by a long Island) are the Inlets into a great Sea or Bay, into which disimbogues a vast River, on the West-side of it, between 49 and 50 Degrees of North-Latitude, Navigable many Hundred Miles by the biggest Ships, and is made by the Conflux of divers great Rivers, some of which come from the South-West, as *Chingola*, *Hilura*, *Ola*, *Sungoro*, and their Fountains, near the great Wall of *China*, and run through the Dominions of the Eastern *Tartars*, who are now Masters of *China*. Other Rivers from the North-West, proceed from the Territories of the *Czar of Muscovy*, who hath built divers large and well fortify'd Cities on the Main River of *Tamour*, and several of its Branches, as *Negovin*, *Nepehou*, *Albazin*, *Argun*, *Nattinskoy*, &c.

This River of *Tamour* or *Amura*, hath a Course, from its furthest Fountains, above 1200 Miles, without any Interruption by Cataracts so frequent in all the other great Rivers in *Muscovy*, as the *Oby*, *Jenisseg* or *Jenisca*, &c. By this River you may Trade with the Inhabitants of *Jedso* for Furs, who have great store, and those very rich. They inhabit all the Coast on both Sides the Mouth of the River, and a considerable Way up it. You may likewise Traffick with the *Muscovites* for the same Commodities, who sell them there for a Fourth Part of what they yeild in *Muscow* or *Archangel*; these Parts being above 4000 Miles almost due East, from *Muscow* their Capital City, a most prodigious, tedious and difficult Journey, as appears by divers large and accurate Journals, which have been many Years publish'd in Print. And by means of the Rivers which come from the South-West, you may correspond with the *Eastern Tartars*, *Chinese*, and the great rich Kingdom of *Tanguth*, all now united under one and the same Emperor, being very civiliz'd Nations, and kind to Strangers. To say nothing of the great and rich *Peninsula* of *Corea*, which is contiguous to one or two Branches of this River, was once a Province of *China*, hath the same Manners and Language, and is now Tributary to the present Emperour. This River and its Branches are in a good Clime, it never varying

rying above 2 or 3 Degrees from a due Easterly Course. Three or more Ships may be sent every Year, who may Part at the Streights of the *Tartarian* Gulph or Sea; one for *Yedzo* and the River; another for *Japan*, and a Third for *North China* to the great City *Tunxo*, the Port of *Pekin*, the Capital of that Kingdom, from which it is not above One Days Journey by Land or Water. And there is not a better Commodity, or of which more Profit may be made, than of the *Furrs*, which are so easily procur'd, and so soon brought unto that Imperial City, where, in the Court and among the *Grandees*, there is a prodigious Consumption of them, and most extravagant Prices given for them, especially those of the better Sort, tho' even the meanest come to an extraordinary good Market.

Thus, after a thorough Search and Discovery both by Sea and Land, have I given the Reader a Topographical Description of a Country, the timely Possession and due Improvement whereof by the *English* may be more beneficial to them, than all the other Colonies they are at present possess'd of: Besides that they will thereby secure forever all the rest of our Plantations upon the Continent of *America*, which if this Country be by them neglected, and suffer'd to remain in the Hands of any ambitious, Politick and powerful Prince or Potentate, may be distress'd, conquer'd or utterly exterminated.

C H A P.



C H A P. VI.

*An Account of the useful
Animals, Vegetables, Met-
tals, Minerals, and other
rich and valuable Commodi-
ties which are naturally pro-
duced or may with Industry
be rais'd in this Pro-
vince.*



IN a new Colony the first Care is to provide Food for their Subsistence. The great Duke of *Rhoan* famous for Wisdom and Valour, who hath written so many celebrated Treatises, especially relating to Military Affairs, and Politicks, advances it as a Maxim, That he who will be a great Warrior, must in the first Place make Provision for the Belly ; and in the late War with the *French*, our seasonable and plentiful Supplies of the Soldiers hath not a little contributed to our wonderful Successes, and

and both strengthened and animated our Troops, to perform such Acts of Valour, as will be celebrated in Future Ages. The *Spaniards* tell a pretty, and I think instructive Story, That upon the Discovery of the immense Riches contain'd in the Mountain *Potosi* in *Peru*, two *Spaniards* resorted thither; the one bought Slaves, hir'd Servants, Overseers, and found a rich Vein of Silver Oar. The other (Land being then Common in the Neighbourhood) fed Sheep. The Mine Master wanting Wool for the cloathing of his Servants (that Place being much colder than others in the same Latitude) and Food for his Overseers (who could not be satisfied, being *Spaniards*, with the poor Fare of the *Indians* and *Negroes*) bought Flesh and Wool of the Shepherd, and after some few Years the Shepherd grew rich, and the Master-Miner poor. If the *Spaniards* had further improv'd this Notion, the *English*, *Dutch* and *French*, had not exchang'd so many of their Manufactures for Gold and Silver; so that they are the richest and poorest Nation in the Southern Part of *Europe*.

And even our own Nation hath not totally escap'd this Misfortune; for how many have I known that carried competent Estates to *North America*, neglecting Tillage, and breeding Cattle, in a few Years their Servants have been their Equals, and sometimes Superiors; such is the Force of Pru-

dence and Industry. But as for our Country of *Carolana*, if Persons, who carry over Effects and Servants, be not fottishly foolish, or supinely negligent, they cannot fail of improving their own Fortunes, and without Injury to themselves, contribute to make others easy, and comparatively happy.

I will not say that Masters and Superintendants of any Sort or Kind, need take nothing with them, but that they will find all Things necessary and convenient to their Hands: Doubtless Common Sense will teach them, they ought to have at least Half a Years Provisions of Things necessary, until they are acquainted with the Natives, and have establish'd a Friendship and Correspondency with them: But abundance of Trouble and Expence will be sav'd in Planting this Country, which could not be well avoided in those the *English* have hitherto settled on the Continent or in their Islands. For Bread in this Country, we have a great Advantage at first coming. They may have *Indian* Corn of the Inhabitants, who have almost every where Two, and in some Places Three Crops in a Year; and I have been very credibly inform'd, that when the New comes in, they cast away a great Part of the Old to make Room in their little Granaries. Besides all along the Coast, and 2 or 300 Miles up the Country from the Sea, they have the Root *Mandihoca*, whereof *Cassavi* Bread and Flower is made, whereupon almost all *America* between

between the Tropicks doth subsist, (excepting what is brought them at great Expence from *Europe*, or our Northern Plantations) and which many esteem as good a Nourishment as our Manchet, and six times cheaper.

Besides, this Country naturally affords another Sort of excellent Corn, which is the most like Oats of any *European* Grain, but longer and larger; and I have been assur'd by many very credible Persons, who often, out of Curiosity had divers Ways prepar'd it, that it far exceeds our best Oatmeal. This is not sown and cultivated by the *Indians*, but grows spontaneously in Marshy Places, in and by the Sides of Rivers, like Reeds or Rushes. The *Indians* when it is ripe take Handfulls, shake them into their Canows; what escapes them falling into the Water, without any further Trouble, produces the next Years Crop. Rice may be there rais'd in as great Plenty as in *Carolina*. For Fruits, they have not divers growing in *Europe*, which were once Strangers to us, and by Art and Industry in some Measure naturaliz'd; but they have others little, if at all Inferior, such as most excellent Limes or wild Lemons, and Prunes, growing in the open Fields without Culture, which they eat plentifully, immediately from the Trees, and keep dry for Winter Provision. Many, who have tasted both, unanimously affirm, they never did meet with either Sort in *Europe* comparable

comparable thereunto : And those dry'd will not prove a contemptible Commodity, when we contract Friendship with the Natives, who being directed by us how to gather and order them, would supply us with great Quantities, not only for our own Subsistence and Delight, but even for Exportation. Besides, the Tunas a most delicious Fruit, especially in hot Weather, and also not only agreeable to the Palate, but Salubrious, and as our *Europeans* call it, when in Maturity, their Cordial Julep.

I now come to that Tree, I mean the Vine, which a great Part of the World almost idolizes. I know, there have been great Disputes amongst the learn'd, (and positively determin'd by *Mahomet* and the *Mahometans* all over the World,) whether it had not been better for Mankind it had never existed, considering how much that noble Juice hath been abus'd, and how often it has been the Cause of numberless Calamities. For my own particular, I must own it is my Opinion, that, next to Bread which is the Staff of Life, it is one of the greatest, meerly material Comforts, we in these Northern Climates enjoy; and having been long thereunto accusom'd, when transplanted into a more Southern Country, we shall hanker after it : And if we cannot have good of our own Produce, we shall certainly have Recourse to Foreigners, and purchase it at any Rate, and thereby impoverish

rish our Infant Colony. But thanks to Almighty God, who hath not only so long, so wonderfully, favour'd the *English* Nation in their own Island, but takes Care even of them, who some account their Out-casts, tho' they have the true *English* Courage, Love to their Country, and contribute, perhaps as much, to its Wealth and Welfare by their Industry, as any equal Number, of their Rank and Quality, they have left behind. But, to put a Period to this Digression, Vines of divers Sorts and Kinds grow naturally in this Country. We have already discover'd and distinguish'd Five or Six Sorts very different from each other; but in such great Plenty, that in a Thousand Places, either upon the Continent, or in the Islands, especially in or near the great Rivers, they make your Journies shorter, by intangling your Legs, it being natural for them to run upon the Ground, unless they meet with Trees, up which they creep, loaded with Clusters of Grapes, of some Sorts, commonly half a Yard, sometimes 2 Foot long. It is true some of these Grapes, for want of Culture, tho' large as Damsons, have great Stones, and a tough Skin; yet they might be easily meliorated by *European* Skill; tho' as they are, especially Two or Three Sorts of the smaller Kind, are as grateful to the Palate, as most we have in *England*; but the very worst, duly managed, produces Brandy, hardly inferior to any
in

in *Europe* ; so that had we Vessels to distill, and skilful Operators, we might soon abate the Price of that Liquor in *England*, and our Plantations and keep a sufficient Reserve for ourselves.

And further, when we have once obtain'd the Skill of Meliorating the Grapes, we shall also produce not only as good Wine, but also as good Raisons, as in most Countries of *Europe* ; the Climate being admirably adapted thereunto ; and thereby not only supply ourselves and Neighbouring Colonies, but somewhat abate the Expence of our Mother, good *Old England*, from whom we proceed, and upon whom we, and (I hope and believe) all our other Colonies, will not only acknowledge their sole Dependance, but ever desire, with the uttermost of their Power, to manifest, upon all Occasions, their Love and Gratitude.

But Corn and Drink are not sufficient for *Englishmen* , who are us'd to feed upon good Beef, Mutton, Bacon, Veal and Pork : Therefore for the Encouragement of such as shall hereafter inhabit this Province, they will find good Beef, and consequently Veal, there being a Sort of Kine natural to this Country, which, though they differ a little in Shape from ours (having a Bunch upon their Shoulders, which is delicious Food) yet otherways are not in the least inferior to our Bulls and Cows, and they make them Oxen when they please ; and by dry Fodder
 stall

small Oxen like those in *England*; but, as they are without Art and Care, they almost equal our grass Cattle. There are also Sheep of the *Spanish* Breed in good Numbers, whose Flesh is as good as ours, and their Wooll better; as also Hogs very plentiful, on the Sea-Coast especially, and some within Land, tho' not so numerous, Acorns, Chesnuts, and other Mafts abounding in this Country, render them more grateful Food, (as all who have fed upon them affirm) than ours in *England*; and fit for Exportation for the Islands.

Next to Food we are to consider a very material Circumstance, and that is, Cattle for Draught, and Horses for Riding, which are carried into the Plantations, whither on the Continent, or in the Islands. These are already prepar'd unto your Hands, with no great Trouble and Expence. For Horses, they are commonly us'd among the *Indians* on the West-side of the great River for Riding and Burthens, as amongst us, tho' they have not improv'd them for Draught, being totally ignorant of Coaches, Waines, Carts or Plows, unto all which they may soon by Care and Skill be adapted. And the Price of a good Horse will not amount unto above Five Shillings of our *European* Commodities at first Cost, as I am well assur'd by Traders, who have been offer'd a very good one for a very ordinary Hatchet. And as for Oxen for Plow and Cart, when their young Males are castrated, they will

will be as tame and as serviceable as our Oxen; tho' amongst the *Tartars*, from whom these Kine originally came, the great Bulls, of almost twice the Strength and Bigness of ours, are by them so far tam'd, that they imploy them to draw their Houses or Huts put upon Carts many Hundred Miles, as they have occasion to remove their Habitations, which is only for convenient Pasture, marching in the Winter to the South, in the Summer to the North. This Sort of Cattle are not only useful for Food and Labour, but also for their Hair, or rather Wool, which is very long, very thick, and very fine; and I think, as do many others who understand the Use of it, for Hats, Cloathing, and divers other Necessaries, with some small suitable Addition or Mixtures, is preferable to Common Wool. Their Skins may be partly imported to *England*, and partly imploy'd in our own Colony for Harness, Boots, Shoes, and many other Uses.

Besides, we are near *New Mexico*, all which Country generally imploy for Carriage mighty great and strong Mules, produc'd by *Assinegos*, or Male Asses, many of which there are of abundantly greater Bigness, Strength, and Mettle, than in *Europe*, which with the Mares of that Country would produce an excellent Breed, if it be thought advantageous to raise them.

There

There are several Tracts of Land in this Country that would suit very well with Cammels, many of which are imploy'd by the *Spaniards*, especially in *Peru* and *Terra Firma*, or the South-part of the Gulph of *Mexico*. They have them mostly from the *Canary* Islands, and some from *Africa*. They stand well in *America*, are very useful, and a very little Trouble and Charge will subsist them.

The wild Animals of this Country, besides the Elk or Buffalo abovemention'd, are Panthers, Bears, Wolves, Wild Catts, none of which are hurtful to Mankind; Deer of divers Sorts, Bever, Otter, Fox, Racoons, Squirrels, Martins, and Conies between ours and Hares in great Abundance; as likewise a Rat with a Bag under its Throat, wherein it conveys its Young when forc'd to fly. All these are useful for their Furrs or Skins, and some for Food; but I think it not material nor consistent with my design'd Brevity to enter into a particular Description of them: No more than of the following Birds or Wild Fowl found all over the Country, Sea-shore, and Rivers, such as Eagles, Goffe Hawks, Falcons, Jer-Falcons and most other Birds of Prey that are in *Europe*; Great Companies of Turkeys, Bustards, Pheasants, Partridges, Pidgeons, Thrushes, Black-birds, Snipes, Cranes, Swans, Geese, Ducks, Teale, Pelicans, Parrots, and many other Sorts of curious Birds differing from ours.

For

For Cloathing, tho' we may reasonably suppose, that by our Correspondence with our Native Country, we may be supply'd there-with, as also with Beds, Carpets, Coverlets, &c. yet it would not be amiss, if in the Infancy of this Colony, the poorer Sort were encourag'd to manufacture the Wool of Sheep and Kine, as also Cotton, to supply their urgent Necessities. Hats may be made of the long soft Hair of the Kine mix'd, if need be, with a little of the Hair or Wool of *Bever*, both which are in great Plenty, and easily procur'd, and nothing wanting but a few Artists to manufacture them as in *England*.

I have receiv'd Information from divers Persons, who unanimously affirm, That some of the most civiliz'd Nations in this Country, especially of the better Sort, are cloath'd with a Substance like good Course, serviceable Linnen, very White. Upon Inquiry, they found it was made with the inward Bark of Trees, which grow plentifully there, and is as becoming as most of the ordinary Linnen of *Europe*; and by the Relation of the Natives no less durable. Of the same and other Barks, they make Thread, Cords and Ropes, of divers Lengths, and Magnitudes, which might be greatly improv'd by our *English* Planters.

Olives would certainly grow here as well as in *New Spain*, where they thrive, especially in those Parts contiguous to our Country

try, and are not inferior, either for eating or making Oil, to those of *Spain* and *Portugal*: As also Almonds, several affirming, particularly, I remember, the famous *Acosta* writes concerning the Productions of the *West-Indies*, where he long resided, that they far exceed those of *Spain* or any other Part of *Europe*: But for political Reasons, both they and Vines are forbidden to be us'd for the Production of Oil or Wine.

Currants also would probably prosper in this Country, the Climate being much of the same Nature and Latitude with the Islands of *Zant*, and *Cephelonia*, from whence we now do generally bring them; and the famous City of *Corinth*, from which they derive their Name, and from whence they were transplanted to the foremention'd Islands; the *Latin* Name being *Uva Corinthiaca*, or Grapes of *Corinth*, which we corruptly call Currants, instead of *Corinths*. These Three Commodities were thought so needful, that King *Charles II.* with the Advice of His Council, gave great Encouragement, in His Patent for *Carolina*, to the Proprietors, Planters or any others, who should produce and import them to *England*; As also Capers and some other Commodities there mention'd.

Cotton grows wild in the Codd and in great Plenty, may be manag'd and improv'd as in our Islands, and turn to as great Account; and in Time perhaps manufactu-

red either in the Country or in *Great-Britain*, which will render it a Commodity still more valuable.

Pearls are to be found in great Abundance in this Country: The *Indians* put some Value upon them, but not so much as on the colour'd Beads we bring them. On the whole Coast of this Province, for 200 Leagues, there are many vast Beds of Oysters, which breed Pearls, as has been found in divers Places: But, which is very remarkable, far from the Sea in fresh Water Rivers and Lakes, there is a Sort of Shell-Fish between a Muscle and a Pearl Oyster, wherein are found abundance of Pearls, and many of an unusual Magnitude. The *Indians*, when they take the Oysters, broil them over the Fire 'till they are fit to eat, keeping the large Pearls they find in them, which by the Heat are tarnish'd and lose their Native Lustre: But when we have taught them the right Method, doubtless it would be a very profitable Trade. There are two Places we already know within Land, in each of which there is a great Pearl Fishery. One about 120 Leagues up the River *Meschacebe*, on the West-side, in a Lake made by the River of the *Naches*, about 40 Miles from its Mouth, where they are found in great Plenty and many very large. The other on the River *Chiaba*, which runs into the *Coza* or *Cussam* River
(as

(as our *English* calls it) and which comes from the N. E. and after a Course of some Hundred Miles disimbogues into the Gulph of *Florida*, about 100 Miles to the East of the *Meschacebe*.

The judicious and faithful Writer of the famous Expedition of *Ferdinando Soto*, who was therein from the Beginning unto the End, acquaints us, That when they came to *Cutifachia*, the chief of that Country finding they valu'd Pearl, offer'd to load all their Horses therewith, which were at least Two Hundred. And to confirm them in the Belief of what they advanc'd, carried them unto Two of their chief Temples, where they found vast Quantities, but took only Fourteen Bushels for a Shew to the *Havana*, and other of the *Spanish* Dominions, to encourage the Peopling of this Colony, not being willing to incumber their Horses with more, their Welfare and Success depending much upon their Horsemen, the *Indians* being abundantly more afraid of them than the Foot; whose Guns being useless after a short Time for want of Powder, they only made Use of Cross-Bows. And *Garzilassa*, who was not with *Soto*, but writ only upon Memoirs he receiv'd from divers who were present, gives a more full Account of the prodigious Quantity of Pearls in that Country, affirming, the *Spaniards* calculated them to amount unto a Thousand Bushels.

And afterwards when the *Spaniards* at *Chia-ha* were gathering Oysters for their Food, they found many large Pearls, and one particularly that was priz'd at Four Hundred Ducats, not having lost the least of its Lustre, being taken out of a Raw Oyster. And that one *Terron* a *Spaniard* had above Six Pounds Weight of Pearl very large, and mostly of a beautiful Lustre, and were valu'd at Six Thousand Ducats.

It need not seem incredible, that Pearl should be taken in fresh Water Lakes and Rivers, there being many Relations of unquestionable Reputation, which declare, very good and large Pearls are found in divers Parts of *China*, and the Countries to the West and South-West of their great Wall (with which Quotations I will not enlarge this Discourse) as will appear by reading the *China Atlas* of *Martinus*, *Marcus Paulus Venetus*, and other credible Writers on Lakes and fresh Water Rivers.

Cochineal is a Commodity of great Value, very necessary as the World goes, and costs this Nation annually great Sums of Money, which may be all sav'd, there being in this Province sufficient to furnish both us, and our Neighbours, who are no less fond of it than ourselves. There have been great Enquiries, and many Disputes, about the Original of this Commodity, which is the famous Ingredient for dying in Grain, the
Purple

Purple and Scarlet Colours, generally esteem-
ed by opulent and civiliz'd Nations.

This noble Ingredient for dying, is pro-
duc'd by a Tree or Shrub call'd the Tunal
or Tuna, of which there are divers Sorts;
some bearing an excellent Fruit very plea-
sant and wholesome. It is made of certain
Insects breeding in the Fruit of this Plant,
when it is well husbanded, and are thereun-
to fastn'd, cover'd with a small fine Webb,
which doth Compass them about, and when
come to Maturity they eat through it, fall off
the Tree, and being carefully gather'd, dry'd,
and curiously put up, are sent to *Spain*, and
thence distributed to most civiliz'd Parts of
Europe, and *Asia*. *Acosta* tells us, That in
the Fleet wherein he return'd from *Mexico*,
that Province only, shipp'd 5677 Arobes,
each whereof is 25 *l*. Weight, and valu'd at
283750 Peices of Eight. The Cochineal is
of two Sorts, one growing Wild, which they
call *Silvester*. This, tho' it gives a good
Price, is far short of that, which is duly
cultivated in Gardens and Fields, much after
the manner the *English* do Tobacco in their
Plantations. This Province both on the East
and West-side of the *Meschacebe*, from the
Gulph of *Mexico*, some Hundred Miles up
the Country, abounds with all Sorts of Tu-
nals, or Tuna's (as some style them) usually
found in the Province of *Mexico*, which bor-
ders upon it, and is only divided by an
imaginary Line, from the Degrees of 30 to

36. When this Country is settled, and we set upon this Manufacture, the *Indians* may be very helpful unto us, it being easy Labour, and wherein we need only employ their Women and Young People, if their Men, who are generally very lazy, decline it.

The Plant of which Indico is made, is very frequent in most of the Southern Parts of this Country, and may possibly produce better than that made in our Islands of *Jamaica*, &c. This Province being in the same Latitude with *Agra* and *Byana*, Territories in the great *Mogul's* Country, whose Indico is accounted the best of its Kind in the World, and is double the Price of ours. It is easily made, and the *Indians* may be assisting to us herein, if we think fit to undertake it. Besides if we believe that judicious natural Historian *Hernando*, there is in *Mexico*, and consequently here (being much the same Climate) a Plant or little Shrub, which produces an Indico abundantly more noble, and the Colour more lively, than that which is the Common Indico. This the *Spaniards* call *Azul*, as being like Ultramarine.

Ambergris or grey Amber, is often found upon this Coast from the Cape of *Florida* to *Mexico*, which is of great Value. The best (for there are divers Sorts) is of equal worth to its weight in Gold. This is agreed upon by the Learned, to be a Bitumen or Naptha, which comes from certain Springs
or

or Fountains, that empty themselves into the Sea, and is coagulated by the Salt-Water, as Succinum, commonly call'd Amber, from another Sort of Bitumen or Naptha, and in Storms cast upon the Coast. The same Ambergris is also found upon the East-side of the Cape or *Peninsula* of *Florida*, the *Bahama* Islands, in the *East-Indies*, and *Brazil*, and sometimes great Lumps, even upon the Coast of *Cornwall* and *Ireland*. And among others, I have read of a Piece weighing Eighty Pounds, cast upon the Coast of *Cornwall*, in the Reign of King *Charles I.* which was bigger, till diminish'd by the Countryman who found it, by greasing his Cart Wheels, and Boots, but discover'd accidentally by an intelligent Gentleman, who riding by one of his Carts, and perceiving a very grateful Smell, enquir'd of the Man whence it proceeded; he told him he had found a nasty Greese on the Shore, which he hop'd would have sav'd him the Expence of Kitchen Stuff and Tarr for Carts, Harness, and Boots, but it was of so poysonous a Smell, that they were not able to endure it. The Gentleman desiring to see the Remainder, found it what he expected, purchas'd it at a very easy Rate, presented it unto the Queen, and was requited in Places or Employments far beyond the Value of it.

There is found in great Quantities upon the same Coast on the Shore to the East and

West of the *Meschacebe*, especially after high South Winds, a Sort of Stone Pitch by the *Spaniards* call'd *Copec*, which they likewise find in the *South-Sea* upon the Coast of *Peru*. They mix it with Greese to make it more liquid, and use it as Pitch for their Vessels, and affirm it to be better in hot Countries, not being apt to melt with the Heat of the Sun or Weather. And at *Trinidad* a large Island over against the great River of *Oronoque*, there is a Mountain of the said Substance, of which Sir *Walter Raleigh* gives an Account in his Expedition, so fatal unto him, of the Discovery of the said River; and several Navigators since have done the same. *Acosta*, the famous Author of the natural History of the *West-Indies*, affirms it to be generated of an Oil, which empties itself, he knows not how, into several Parts of the Ocean, in so great Quantities, that the Sailors, when at a Loss, know where they are by its Floating on the Sea, or the Smell thereof, which, he says, they scented at a considerable Distance. The *English* sent to discover the River *Meschacebe*, affirm the same, and that they found it in two Places, which I have well mark'd. Moreover, that the Sea was cover'd with an Oil or Slime, as they stile it, which had a very strong Smell for many Leagues together. I suppose they had much the same Conceptions with the Countryman beforemention'd, and therefore their Curiosity did not prompt them to take it up, and examine

examine its Qualities ; tho' probably , it might be of the same Nature and Use, with that of divers Wells in the Province of *Adierbigian* in *Persia*, near the *Caspian* Sea, whence they fetch it many Hundred Miles on Camels, being us'd to burn it in Lamps instead of Oil, it emitting a most grateful and wholesome Odour. I might add *Sperma Cete* Whales, out of which that Substance is extracted, are sometimes kill'd by the Natives, and sometimes by Storms, as it were shipwreck'd on the Shore; but either of these seldom happening, there can be no great Dependance or Expectation from them.

Salt is of great Use, especially unto *Europeans*, without which they cannot well subsist, being accusom'd thereunto from their Infancy, and without which Food hath no Relish. Besides it is suppos'd, that it prevents Putrefaction, and innumerable Diseases ; and in Foreign Countries, where it hath been wanting, they have greatly suffer'd. It is moreover necessary to preserve Fish and Flesh, which without it cannot be long kept sweet. In this Country it may be easily and abundantly procur'd. We know divers Places, on both Sides of the River, where there are many Springs and Lakes, producing plentifully excellent Salt ; and also one Mine of Rock-Salt, almost clear as Cristal, and probably there may be many more of the same. By these we may not only supply ourselves with what
is

is necessary for our ordinary daily Food, during the Winter or other Seasons, but also furnish our (I may call them Neighbour) Plantations in the Islands, (we not being very remote from them,) with Fish, Flesh, and Salt; when by Reason of War, or other sinister Accidents, they cannot receive due and expected Recruits from *England* or elsewhere.

Silk is a Commodity of great Use in *England* for many Manufactures, it being imported to us from *France*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Turky*, and the *East-Indies*; and there is no Foreign Commodity, which exhausts more of our Treasure. I am not so vain as to promise, this Country can furnish *Great-Britain* with so much Silk, as is therein manufactured, which would amount to above half a Million or a Million *Sterling* annually: But if this Province is ever settled, (it abounding in most Parts with Forests of Mulberry Trees, both White and Red) and we keep a good Correspondence with the Natives, which is both our Duty and Interest, certainly a considerable Quantity of Silk may be here produced. It hath been already experimented, in *South Carolina*, by Sir *Nathaniel Johnson* and others, which would have return'd to great Account, but that they wanted Hands, Labourers being not to be hir'd but at a vast Charge. Yet if the Natives or *Negroes* were employ'd, who delight in such easy light Labours, we could have that done;
for

for less than One Shilling, which costs them more then six. Now I appeal to all good *Englishmen*, if we can raise only a Tenth Part of the Silk expended in *Great-Britain*, &c. and perhaps half an Age hence the Fifth, whether it would not be very beneficial to our Native Country, and a little Check upon others, with whom we deal in that Commodity, by letting them know, if they are unreasonable and exorbitant in their Demands, that we may in a short Time supply ourselves, in a great Measure, from our own Plantations? I am not ignorant there are several Sorts of Silks, proper for divers distinct Uses, as of *China*, *Bengale*, and other Parts of the *East-Indies*, *Persia*, *Turkey*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*; for what Manufactures ours is most proper, I know not; but it hath given a good Price, and Experience may teach us to raise for more Uses than one. I would advise my Countrymen, when they set up this Manufacture, to imitate the *Chinese*, who sow the Mulberry Seeds as we do Pot-herbs, and to mow those of one Years growth for the Young Silk Worms, the Leaves being short and tender, fit Food for them when fresh hatched; and the Second for them when in their Infancy, as I may deservedly stile it; when grown strong they may be supply'd with Leaves from the Trees; which Method secures them from the Diseases, whereunto they are obnoxious, when fed from the Beginning,

Beginning, with great rank Leaves, saves much Trouble, and lessens the Number of Hands to attend them, which is the greatest Expence.

Hemp and Flax are not only Materials for divers Manufactures in *England*, but exceedingly useful, and indeed almost necessary in a new Colony, to supply them with Course Linnens of divers Kinds, whereof, if we made much and finer, it would be no Injury to our Mother *England*, who hath most from Foreign Parts; as also Cordage, Thread, Twine for Nets, and other Uses. The Plants which produce Hemp and Flax, are very common in this Country, and abundantly sufficient to supply not only the Necessities thereof, but likewise of the whole *British* Nation. Besides we have a Grass, as they call it Silk Grass, which makes very pretty Stuffs, such as come from the *East-Indies*, which they call *Herba* Stuffs, whereof a Garment was made for Queen *Elizabeth*, whose Ingredient came from Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Colony, by him call'd *Virginia*, Now *North-Carolina*, a Part of this Province, which, to encourage Colonies and Plantations, she was pleas'd to wear for divers Weeks.

This Country affords excellent Timber for Building Ships, as Oak, Fir, Cedar, Spruce, and divers other Sorts: And as I said before, Flax and Hemp for Cordage and Sails; as likewise Iron for Nails and Anchors. But
with-

without Tarr, Pitch, and Rosin, a Ship can never be well equipp'd; wherefore there are divers Places in this Country near the Sea and great Rivers, which were otherwise uselefs, being the most sandy barren Parts of the Country, wherein that Tree grows which produces all those Materials for Naval Architecture; the same Tree likewise produces Turpentine, which is no contemptible Commodity. This Tree being peirc'd, and a Vessel conveniently fastn'd unto or plac'd under the Aperture, the Turpentine distills plentifully into it: If cut, and a Hole made under the Tree in the Sand (for in that Soil it generally grows) the Turpentine by the Influence of the Air and Sun, without any further Trouble, becomes good Rosin. Pitch and Tarr are made by cutting the dry Trees into Scantlings, taking the Knotts of old Trees fallen, and the rest of the Wood rotted, burning, as you make here Charcoal, covering with Turf, and leaving Orifices for as much Air as will keep the Fire from extinguishing. The Moisture partly Aqueous, partly Bituminous, runs by a gentle Descent into a Pit, what swims is Tarr, which inflam'd to a certain Degree and extinguish'd is Pitch.

I suppose it will not seem a Grievance for us to build Ships in this Country to bring Home our Native Commodities, when it is allow'd in our other Plantations, and
sup-

supposed to save us a vast Expence of Boards, Masts, Yards, &c. which were formerly brought us from *Norway* and *Sweden*, where its well known, that three Parts in four are pay'd for in ready Money, and not a Fourth in our own Native Commodities or Manufactures. Besides the Pitch, Tarr, Rosin and Turpentine, the Produce of the Trees beforemention'd, the Ashes which remain, with; a very small Accession, and little Trouble, will make Pot-Ashes, no contemptible Commodity, and which costs *England* every Year to Foreign Parts, (as I have been inform'd by competent Judges) above Fifty Thousand Pounds: But I will not insist further hereon, or manifest what great Quantities hereof may easily be made, and how much stronger, than most of that we import from *Russia*, *Livonia*, *Courland*, *Prussia*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, and other Countries; we having so many other valuable Commodities to imploy our Time and Labour about.

The mention of Pot-Ashes, so much us'd by Soap-Boilers and Dyers, brings to mind several Materials for Dying. This Country affords Logwood, otherwise call'd Campeche-Wood, and many other Dying Woods, Fustick, &c. which, divers, who try'd them, affirm, are not inferior to those growing on the opposite side of the Gulph, in the *Spanish* Dominions, whence we have hitherto receiv'd them, with much Charge, Hazard
and

and Trouble. There are besides the Woods in this Country, divers Shrubs and Plants, whose Roots even as us'd by the *Indians*, die the finest and most durable Colours, Black, Yellow, Blue, and especially Red; which if planted, and cultivated, as *Mather* Wood, and *Saffron* amongst us, might probably be beneficial unto the Undertakers.

Some Persons are very inquisitive, whether this Country produces Gemms: I pretend not to the Knowledge of Diamonds, Rubies and Balasses, Saphires, Emeralds, or Chrysolites; all that have come to my Knowledge are Amethists, of which there are very fine and large, and to the *West-Turchoises*, thought to be as large and good as any in the known World; and possibly upon Inquiry and diligent Search, others may be found.

We have an Account of *Lapis Lazuli*, which is an Indication, as Mine-Masters generally affirm, that Gold is not far off. I never did see or hear of any *Lapis Lazuli* extraordinary good, but had visible Streaks, or Veins of pure Gold: But tho' it is not ordinarily reckon'd amongst precious Stones, yet, if good in its Kind, it is sold for its Weight in Gold, to make that glorious Azure call'd Ultramarine, without which no marvelous, and durable Painting can be made. And Monsieur *Turnefort* in his Voyage to the *Levant* observes, That besides
that

that *Lazuli* is found in Gold-Mines, there seem to be in this Stone some Threads of Gold as it were still uncorrupted.

I had almost forgot to communicate two Commodities one for the Health, the other for the Defence of our Bodies. The former is a Shrub call'd *Cassine*, much us'd and celebrated by the Natives, the Leaves whereof dry'd will keep very long, of which several People have had many Years Experience. The *Indians* drink plentifully thereof, (as we do Tea in *Europe*, and the *Chineses*, from whom it is exported) more especially when they undertake long and dangerous Expeditions against their Enemies, affirming, it takes away Hunger, Thirst, Weariness, and that tormenting Passion, Fear, for Twenty-four Hours: And none amongst them are allow'd to drink it, but those, who have well deserv'd by their Military Atcheivments, or otherwise obtain'd the Favour of their petty Royteletts.

The latter is Salt-Peter, which may probably be here procur'd, cheap and plentifully, there being at certain Seasons of the Year most prodigious Flights of Pidgeons, I have been assur'd by some who have seen them, above a League long, and half as broad. These come, many Flocks successively, much the same Course, roost upon the Trees in such Numbers, that they often break the Boughs, and leave prodigious Heaps of Dung behind them; from which, with good

good Management, and very little Expence, great Quantities of the best Salt-Peter may be extracted.

Having given an Account of the most valuable Animals and Vegetables this Country produces, for Food and other Uses, as well as Materials for Trade and Manufacture, Some, who have heard or read of the immense Riches in Gold and Silver, that are annually exported from *Peru*, *Mexico*, and other Territories of the *Spaniards* in *America* to *Spain*, and of the incredible Quantities of Gold that have been imported from *Brazil* into *Portugal*, for above Thirty Years past (The Benefit of which all the World knows we have shar'd in) will be ready to enquire, whither the like Mines exist in this Country? Whereunto it may be answer'd; were there no such Mines, yet where there is so good; rich, fertil, Land; so pure and healthful an Air and Climate; such an Abundance of all Things for Food and Raiment; valuable Materials for Domestick and Foreign Trade; these Advantages alone, if industriously improv'd, and prudently manag'd, will in the Event, bring in Gold and Silver by the Ballance of Trade, as in the Case of *England* and *Holland*; who without Mines of Gold or Silver, are perhaps the richest Nations, for the Quantity of Land they possess, and Number of Inhabitants, in the whole Commercial World. And its well
H known

known, that we and some other industrious *Europeans* receive, in Exchange for our Commodities, the greatest Part of the Wealth, which comes in Bullion from the *West-Indies*, either to *Spain* or *Portugal*. But not to discourage any whose Genius inclines them to the Discovery and Working of Mines, I will add, Who knows, but we may have here as rich as any in the known World? Who hath searched? As *Tacitus* said of *Germany* in the Height of the *Roman* Empire; I mean the Reign of the great *Trajan*, Sixteen Hundred Years since. Yet afterwards there were found, Gold, Silver, Lead, Tin, Copper, Quick-silver, Spelter, Antimony, Vitriol, the best in the World, Blue, Green, and White; besides many other Mineral Productions, which are now wrought to the great Advantage of divers Sovereign Princes and their Subjects.

But to make a more particular Reply to such Suggestions. They may be assur'd, that Copper is in Abundance, and so fine, that it is found in Plates, Bitts and Pieces very pure without Melting, of which considerable Quantities have been gather'd on the Surface of the Earth. And they who have tried some of the Oar affirm, by common Methods, it gives above Forty per Cent. The famous *Alonso Barba*, who hath given an admirable Account of the Mines the *Spaniards* have discover'd in *America*, and the Ways of working them, assures us, that
besides

besides the Mines abounding in that Metal near the Surface of the Earth, they found, digging deeper, that they prov'd the richest Silver Mines, they have hitherto discover'd. And all agree, the Gold extracted out of Copper, is Finer, of a higher Tincture, or more Caratts, than that extracted from Silver or any other Metal; and that without the tedious Process of burning several Times before Melting, imploy'd constantly, in order to the extracting Copper, by Swedes and other European Nations.

Lead is there in great Quantities. What has already been discover'd, is more than sufficient for Common Use, and the Oar affords Sixty per Cent.

I need not perhaps mention Coal, the Country so much abounding in Wood. But because in some Cases, that may be more useful and proper than Wood, I will add, That in many Places there are known to be Mines of Pit-Coal, like that we have from Scotland, Wales, and some of our Inland Countries in England.

Iron Oar is in abundance of Places near the Surface of the Earth; and some Parts produce Iron, little inferior to Steel in Goodness, and useful in many Cases, wherein Steel is commonly imploy'd, as divers attest, who have made Trials thereof.

This Country affords another profitable Commodity or Mineral, which is Quick-silver. We have Knowledge of two Mines

one on the West ; the other on the East of the great River ; and doubtless many more might be found if enquir'd after. The Natives make no other Use thereof, than to paint their Faces and Bodies therewith, in Time of War, and great Festivals. This we call Quick-silver, is the Mother of Quick-silver, or the Mineral out of which it is extracted, and is a Rock of a Scarlet or Purple Colour ; which being broke and distill'd in Earthen Pots, the Necks whereof are put into others almost full of Water, the latter, for the greater Part of each of them in the Ground, then are plac'd in Rows, almost contiguous, cover'd with spray Wood, which burning drives the Quicksilver by Descent out of the Mineral into the Water. Three or Four Men will tend some Thousands of these Pots. The great Trouble is in digging ; all the Expence not amounting unto a Tenth Part of the Value of the Produce.

And it is generally observ'd by all, who write well on Mines, Metals, and Minerals, That tho' Silver be often found, where there is no Cinnabar or Quick-silver in its Neighbourhood, yet Cinnabar is rarely found but Silver Mines are near. This Cinnabar or Vermillion, tho' a good Commodity in itself in *Europe*, and among the Savages, for some pick'd chosen Pieces, is chiefly valuable for the Quick-silver it produces ; especially if we ever obtain a free Trade with the *Spaniards* ;
and

and will be beyond all Exception for our and their mutual Benefit: For most of the Silver Oar in *America*, mix'd with Quick-silver, produces almost double the Quantity of Metal, it would do only by Melting; so that the *Spaniards* have annually six or eight Thousand Quintals, or Hundred Weight, brought unto them from the Bottom of the *Adriatick* Gulph, out of the Territories of the Emperor, and the *Venetians*, viz. from *Istria*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Friuli*, and *Dalmatia*. We can sell it them, and deliver it for half what that costs, which comes from *Europe*, they being within six or eight Days sail of the Place where it is produc'd. And for *Mexico* we can deliver it for the Mines in *New Biscay*, &c. in the River of *Palmes*, or *Rio Bravo*, otherwise call'd the River of *Escondido*: As also by the River of the *Houmas*, which enters the *Meschacebe*, 100 Leag. from its Mouth, on the West-side, after a Course of above 500 Miles. It is a very large deep River, Navigable at least 300 Miles by Ships; afterwards unto its Heads by Barks and flat-bottom'd Boats, having no Falls. It proceeds from that Narrow Ridge of low Mountains, which divides this Country, and the Province of *New Mexico*. The Hills may be pass'd not only by Men and Horses, but also by Waggon in less than half a Day. On the other side are small Navigable Rivers, which, after a short Course of 30 or 40 Miles, empty themselves

into the abovesaid *Rio Bravo*, which comes from the most Northerly Part of *New Mexico*, in 38 Degrees of Latitude, and enters the Sea at the N. W. End of the Gulph of *Mexico*, in 27 Degrees of Latitude.

There is also another easy Passage, to the Northern Part of *New Mexico*, by the Yellow River, which about 60 Miles above its Mouth, is divided into Two great Branches; or rather those Two Branches form that great River, which is no less than the *Meschacebe*, where they are united. The North Branch proceeds from the North-West, and is call'd the River of the *Massorites*, from a great Nation who live thereon. The other which comes from the West and by South, is nam'd the River of the *Ozages*, a populous Nation of that Name inhabiting on its Banks; and their Heads proceed from the abovesaid Hills, which Part the Province of *New Mexico* from *Carolina*, and are easily passable; as are those foremention'd of the River of the *Houmas*, which may be plainly discern'd by the Map, or Chart hereunto annex'd.

But all this is insignificant to our *Plutonists*, whom nothing will satisfy besides Gold and Silver; I will therefore here declare all I know, or have receiv'd from credible Persons, and will not add a Tittle. I am well inform'd of a Place, from whence the *Indians* have brought a Mettal, (not well indeed refin'd) and that divers Times, which purified,

purified, produc'd Two Parts Silver. And I have an Account from another, who was with the *Indians*, and had from them inform Masses of such like Silver, and very fine Pale Copper, though above 200 Miles from the Country, where the foremention'd was found. I have by me Letters from *New Jersey*, written many Years since, by a Person very well skill'd in the Refining of Metals, signifying, that divers Years successively, a Fellow, who was there of little Esteem, took a Fancy to ramble with the *Indians* beyond the Hills, which separate that Colony and *New York* from this Country; he always brought Home with him a Bag, as heavy as he could well carry, of Dust, or rather small Particles of divers Sorts of Metals very ponderous. When melted it appear'd a Mixture of Metals, unto which they could assign no certain Denomination; but perceiv'd by many Trials, that it contain'd Lead, Copper, and, when refin'd, above a Third Part Silver and Gold; for tho' the Gold was the least in Quantity, yet it was considerable in Value; which is easily discover'd by any tolerable Artist of a Refiner, who knows, how to separate Gold and Silver, and what Proportion the Mass contains of each. There were great Pains taken, to bring this Fellow to discover, where he had this, I may call, Treasure, it serving him to drink and sot, till he went on another Expedition;

pedition; But neither Promises nor Importunities would prevail. Some made him Drunk, yet he still kept his Secret. All they could ever fish out of him was, that about 300 Leagues South-West of *Jersey*, at a certain Season of the Year, there fell great Torrents of Water from some Mountains, I suppose from Rains, which being pass'd over, the *Indians* wash'd the Sand or Earth some Distance below the Falls, and in the Bottom remain'd this Medley of Metals: Which brings to mind what happen'd lately in *Brasil*. Several *Portuguese* being guilty of heinous Crimes, or afraid of the Resentment of powerful Enemies, retreated from their Habitations, to the Mountains of *St. Paul*, as they call'd them, lying in between 20 and 30 Degrees of South-Latitude, above 200 Miles from their nearest Plantations, and yearly increasing, at length form'd a Government amongst themselves. Some inquisitive Person perceiving, in divers Places, somewhat glyster, after the Canals of the Torrents, produc'd by great Rains, at a certain Time of the Year, were dry, upon Trial found it (the Sand and Filth being wash'd away) very fine Gold. They having upon Consultation amass'd a good Quantity thereof, made their Peace with the King of *Portugal*, and are a peculiar Jurisdiction, paying the King his Quint or Fifth, which is reserv'd in all Grants
of

of the Crown of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and are constantly supply'd by the Merchants for ready Money, with whatsoever Commodities they want. And I am inform'd by divers credible Persons, who have long liv'd in *Portugal*, that from this otherwise contemptible useless Country, is brought by every *Brazil* Fleet above Twelve Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds *Sterl.* only in Gold. Who knows but what happen'd to them, may one Time or other, in like manner, happen to the Future Inhabitants of this Country, not yet cultivated, fully discover'd, or ransack'd by *Europeans*?

There are in divers Parts of this Province, Orpiment, and Sandaracha in great Quantity; and all the Writers on Metals and Minerals affirm, they not only contain Gold, but where they are found they are generally the Covering of Mines of Gold or Silver.

But suppose all that preceded is Conjecture, Imposture, or Visionary; what I now suggest deserves great Attention; and when the Country is settled, may invite the best Heads, and longest Purfes, to combine, at least, to make a fair Trial of what the *Spaniards* attempted upon naked Conjectures.

The Mines of *New Biscay*, *Gallicia* and *New Mexico*, out of which such vast Quantities of Silver is Yearly sent to *Spain*, besides

sides what is detain'd for their Domestick Utensils, wherein they are very magnificent, lie contiguous to this Country. To say nothing of Gold, whereof they have considerable Quantities, tho' not proportionable in Bulk or Value to the Silver. But there is a Ridge of Hills which run almost due North and South between their Country and ours, not 30 Miles broad, and in divers Places, for many Miles, abounding with Silver Mines, more than they can work, for want of Native *Spaniards*, and *Negroes*. And, which is very remarkable, they unanimously affirm, the further North, the Richer the Mines of Silver are. Which brings to mind what *Polibius*, *Livy*, *Pliny*, and many others of the *Greek* and *Roman* Historians, and Writers of Natural History unanimously report; That the rich Mines in *Spain*, upon which the *Carthaginians* so much depended, and which greatly enrich'd them, were in the *Asturias* and *Pyrenean* Mountains, the most Northerly Part of *Spain*, and in a much greater Northern Latitude, than the furthest Mines of *New Mexico*, near their Capital City *St. a Fee*, situate in about 36 Degrees. Not but that there are more and richer Mines more Northerly than *St. a Fee*, but they are hinder'd from working them, by Three or Four populous and well polic'd Nations, who have beat the *Spaniards* in many *Rencounters*, not to say *Battles*; and for

a Hundred Years, they have not been able, by their own Confession, to gain from them one Inch of Ground.

Pliny in particular affirms, That every Year Twenty Thousand Pounds of Gold were brought from their Mines in *Spain*: And that one Mine call'd *Bebello*, from the first Discoverer, yeilded to *Hannibal*, every Day Three Hundred Pounds Weight of Silver; besides a very rich copious Mine of *Minium*, *Cinnabaris*, or *Vermillion*, the Mother of *Quicksilver*, out of which only it is extracted. He adds, That the *Romans* continued to work these Mines unto his Time, which was above Three Hundred Years; but they were not then so profitable, by Reason of Subterranean Waters, which gave them much Trouble, they having then digged Fifteen Hundred Paces into the Mountain. But what is very remarkable, and to our present Purpose, These Mines were not in the most Southerly or Middle Parts of *Spain*, but as above to the Northward. Now I desire any Intelligent Person, skilful in Mineral Affairs, to assign a probable Reason, why we, who are on that Side of the Ridge of Hills obverted to the Rising Sun, which was always (how justly I know not) reckon'd to abound in Mettals and Minerals, more than those expos'd to the Setting Sun, may not hope for, and expect as many and as rich Mines, as any the *Spaniards*

ards are Masters of, on the other or West-
side of these Mountains? Especially since se-
veral of the *Spanish* Historians and Natura-
lists observe, that the Mines on the Ea-
stern side of the Mountain of *Potosi* in *Peru*,
are much more numerous and rich, than
those on the Western.





APPENDIX.

A N EXTRACT OF THE CHARTER

Granted by
King *CHARLES I.*

To Sir ROBERT HEATH.

*CHARLES by the Grace of GOD, &c.
To all to whom these Presents shall
come Greeting.*



HEREAS, Our Trusty and Well-beloved Subject and Servant, Sir *Robert Heath*, Knight, Our Attorney General, being excited with a laudable Zeal for the propagating the Christian Faith, the Enlargement

ment of Our Empire and Dominions, and the Increase of Trade and Commerce of Our Kingdom, has humbly besought Leave of Us, by his own Industry and Charge, to transport an ample Colony of Our Subjects, &c. unto a certain Country hereafter describ'd, in the Parts of *America*, between the Degrees of 31 and 36, of *Northern* Latitude inclusively, not yet cultivated or planted, &c.

KNOW ye therefore, That We favouring the pious and laudable Purpose of Our said Attorney, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, have given, granted and confirm'd, and by this Our present *Charter* do give, grant and confirm unto the said Sir *Robert Heath* Knight, his Heirs, and Assignes, for ever, All that River or Rivulet of *St. Mattheo* on the *South* Part, and all that River or Rivulet of *Passo Magno* on the *North* Part, and all Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, lying, being, and extending between or within the said two Rivers, by the Tract there unto the Ocean on the *Eastern* and *Western* Parts, so far forth and as much as the Continent there extends itself, with every of their Appurtenances. And also all those Islands of *Veanis* and *Bahama*. And all other Islands and Islets near thereto, and lying *Southward* of and from the said Continent, all which lie within 31 and 36 Degrees of *Northern* Latitude inclusively. And all and singular Havens of Ships, Roads and Creeks of the Sea, to the said Rivers, Islands

Islands and Lands belonging, and all Grounds, Lands, Woods, Lakes and Rivers within the Regions, Islands and Limits aforesaid, situate or being; with all Kinds of Fishes whatsoever, Whales, Sturgeons, and other Royal Fish and Fishings in the Sea and Rivers. And all Veins, Mines, Pits, as well open as shut, of Gold, Silver, Gems, precious Stones, and other Stones, Metals or Things whatsoever, within the said Region, Territory, Islands or Limits aforesaid, found or to be found. And all Patronages and Advowsons of all Churches, which, by Increase of Christian Religion, shall hereafter happen to be built within the said Region, Territory, Island and Limits aforesaid; with all and singular, and with as ample Rights, Jurisdictions, Privileges, Prerogatives, Royalties, Liberties, Immunities, Royal Rights and Franchises whatsoever, as well by Sea as Land, within the said Region, Territory, Islands and Limits aforesaid. To have, use, exercise and enjoy, in as ample Manner, as any Bishop of *Durham* in Our Kingdom of *England*, ever heretofore have, held, used or enjoyed, or of Right ought or could have, use or enjoy.

AND him, the said *Sir Robert Heath*, his Heirs and Assigns, We do by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, make, create and constitute the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors of the said Region and Territory aforesaid, and of all other the Premises,

mises, saving always the Faith and Allegiance due to Us, Our Heirs and Successors. And that the Country or Territory thus by Us granted and describ'd, may be dignify'd by Us with as large Titles and Privileges as any other of Our Dominions and Territories in that Region,

KNOW ye, That We of Our further Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, have thought fit to erect the same Tract of Ground, Country and Island, into a Province, and out of the Fulness of our Royal Power and Prerogative, We do for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, erect and incorporate the same into a Province, and do name it *Carolana*, or the Province of *Carolana*, and the said Islands the *Carolana* Islands, and so from henceforth will have them call'd, &c.

In Witness, &c.

Witness the King at Westminster the Thirtieth Day of October, in the Fifth Year of Our Reign.

NB. THERE are divers other Grants, Licences and Privileges, Royalties, and Immunities, in the said *Charter* contain'd and set forth, which, upon perusal thereof will more fully and at large appear.

THE Additional Clause from the Board of Trade.

To

To the King's most Excellent MAJESTY,

May it please Your MAJESTY,

IN Obedience to Your MAJESTY's Commands signified to us by the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Vernon, upon the Petition of Dr. Coxe in Relation to the Province of *Carolana*, alias *Carolana Florida*, We have consider'd his said Petition, and humbly crave leave to represent unto Your MAJESTY.

THAT Your MAJESTY's Attorney-General upon the Perusal of Letters Patents and Conveyances produc'd to him by Dr. Coxe, has reported to us his Opinion, That Dr. Coxe has a good Title in Law to the said Province of *Carolana*, extending from 31 to 36 Degrees of North Latitude inclusive, on the Continent of *America*, and to several adjacent Islands.

Sign'd

Whitehall,
Dec. 21. 1699.

Stamford
Lexington
P. Meadows
William Blashwait,
John Pollexfen
Abraham Hill
George Stepney

An Abstract of the first Memorial presented to King William, being a Demonstration of the just Pretensions of his MAJESTY the King of England unto the Province of Carolana, alias Florida, and of the present Proprietor under his MAJESTY,

SEBASTION Cabota in the Year 1497, by the Commission and at the Expence of King Henry VII. discover'd all the Coast of *America*, fronting the North or *Atlantick* Ocean, from the Degrees of 56 to 28 of North Latitude, Twenty Years before any other *Europeans* had visited that vast Continent; As appears not only from our own Historians and Cosmographers, but also from the Testimony of the most eminent amongst the *Spanish*, viz. *Peter Martyr* their great Secretary in his *Decades*; *Ortiedo* Governor of *Hispaniola*; *Herrera* their celebrated Historian, and *Gomara*, unto whom We appeal: As also unto the famous *Ramusio*, a most impartial Person, Secretary to the renowned Republick of *Venice*, whose Works were Printed in the Year 1550; and his elegant Contemporary *Paulus Jovius*.

ABOUT Twenty Years after, the Southern Part of this Continent adjacent to the Gulph of *Bahama*, and that afterwards styl'd the Gulph of *Mexico*, was visited first by the *Spaniards* commanded by *Juan Ponce de Leon*. Ten Years after, *Vasquez Ayllon* landed upon it, with a more considerable Force; and
in

in the Year 1527 *Pamphilo Narváez* with a greater: Next to him in the Year 1539. *Ferdinando Soto*. But their enormous Cruelties did so enrage the Natives, that they successively expell'd them. And these pretended Conquerors, cannot have a much worse Character, bestow'd upon them by their Enemies or Foreigners, than they receive from their own Historians, and that so ill as almost exceeds Credit.

THE last Expedition of the Spaniards, unto that Part of *Florida*, now *Carolana*, which borders upon the Gulph of *Mexico*, was in the Year 1558, by the Orders of *Don Luys de Velasco*, then Vice-Roy of *Mexico*; but the Spaniards after their Arrival falling into great Feuds, return'd without making any Settlement. Nor have they ever since made upon this vast Continent, except that of *St. Augustine*, situated upon the North Sea, between the 29th and 30th Degrees of Northern Latitude, above 1200 Miles distant from *Panuco*, their nearest Habitation to the West, which is 60 Leagues from *Mexico*. * The French indeed attempted a Settlement about Fourteen Years since at a Place they nam'd *St. Louis Bay*, not far from *Panuco* between 26 and 27 Degrees North Latitude, but were soon dispers'd. † And again this Year under Monsieur *Iberville*, and built a Sconce near the West and least Branch of *Mischacobe*, leaving therein about 40 Men.

* Vide p. 38, and 39. † Vid. p. 31.

KING *Charles I.* in the Fifth Year of his Reign, granted unto Sir *Robert Heath* his Attorney-General, a Patent of all that Part of *America*, from the River *St. Mattheo*, lying and being in 30 Degrees of North Latitude, unto the River *Passo Magno* in 36 Degrees; extending in Longitude from the North or *Atlantick* Ocean, unto the *Pacifick* or *South-Sea*, not then being in the actual Possession of any Christian Prince or State. And no Part of this Grant was then or since in the actual Possession of any Christian Prince or State, excepting *St. Augustine* afore said; and *New Mexico*, a great Province, unto which the *English* lay no Claim.

SIR *Robert Heath* in the Thirteenth Year of King *Charles I.* convey'd the Premises unto the Lord *Mattravers*, soon after, upon his Father's Decease, Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey*, Earl Marshal of *England*, who at great Expence planted several Parts of the said Country, and had effected much more, had he not been prevented by the War with *Scotland*, in which he was General for King *Charles*; and afterwards by the Civil Wars in *England*, and the Lunacy of his Eldest Son.

IN the Beginning of the Protectorate of *Cromwel*, One Captain *Watts* (afterwards knighted by King *Charles II.* and by him made Governor of *St. Christophers*) falling accidentally upon the Coast of *Florida*, and meeting with One *Leet* an *Englishman*, who
having

having divers Years before been shipwreck'd, and the only Man escap'd, and then in great Favour with the chief *Paracoussi* or Roytelet of that Country, by his Influence the *English* were permitted to trade, and kindly invited to settle there. Not long after the King as they styl'd him, sent One of his chief Subjects Embassador to *England*; and the *English* had divers Tracts of Land given them by the *Indians*, and survey'd that Continent (a Map whereof is still in being) for above Two Hundred Miles square.

AFTER this a great Number of Persons engag'd to contribute considerably, towards the settling a Colony of *English* in the said Province, which Original Subscription is now in my Possession. They nam'd divers Places, especially Rivers, Harbors and Isles, by the Names of the Captains of Ships, chief Traders, and other Circumstances relating to the *English* Nation, as by the said Map or Chart doth more fully appear.

IN the Year 1678, a considerable Number of Persons went from *New England* upon Discovery, and proceeded so far as *New Mexico*, 150 Leagues beyond the River *Meschacebe*, and at their Return render'd an Account to the Government of *Boston*, as will be attested, among many others, by Colonel *Dudley*, then One of the Magistrates, afterwards Governor of *New England*, and at present Deputy Governor of the Isle of *Wight*, under the Honourable the

the Lord Cutts. The War soon after breaking out between the *English* and *Indians*, many of the *Indians*, who were in that Expedition, retreated to *Canada*, from whom Monsieur *De Salle* receiv'd most of his Information, concerning that Country, by him afterwards more fully discover'd. And they serv'd him for Guides and Interpreters; as is attested by Monsieur *Le Tonty*, who accompany'd Monsieur *De Salle*: As also by Monsieur *Le Clerk*, in a Book publish'd by Order of the *French King*. For which Reason, and divers other Passages favouring inadvertently the *English* Pretensions, his Journal Printed at *Paris*, was call'd in, and that Book of One Livre Price, is not now to be purchas'd for Thirty Livres.

THE Five Nations, in the Territory of *New York*, commonly call'd *Iroquois* by the *French*, who have for above Thirty Years voluntarily subjected themselves to the King of *England*, had conquer'd all that Part of the Country, from their own Habitations to and beyond *Meschabebe* (as the aforementioned Monsieur *Le Tonty* more than once acknowledges: As also Father *Le Clerk* in his History of *Canada* Printed by Order in 1691) fold, made over and surrender'd, all their Conquests and Acquisitions therein, to the Government of *New York*, which therefore of Right belongs to the *English*.

THE Present Proprietary of *Carolina* apprehending, from what Information he had receiv'd, that the Planting of this Country would be highly beneficial to the *English*, endeavour'd divers Ways to acquaint himself with the People, Soil and Products thereof; discover'd divers of its Parts; first from *Carolina*, afterwards from *Pensilvania*, by the *Susquehanah* River; and many of his People travell'd to *New Mexico*.

SOON after the said Proprietary of *Carolina*, made another Discovery more Southerly, by the great River *Ochequiton*, and receiv'd an Account of that Country before altogether unknown, and whereunto the *French* to this Day are utter Strangers.

THE said Proprietary, about the same Time, made another Discovery more to the North-West, beyond the River *Mescha-cebe*, of a very great Sea or Lake of fresh Water, several Thousand Miles in Circumference; and of a great River, at the S. W. End, issuing out into the *South-Sea*, about the Latitude of 44 Degrees; which was then communicated to the Privy-Council, and a Draft thereof left in the Plantation Office,

AND since We are assur'd, the *English* have more fully discover'd the said Lake from the *South-Sea*, and enter'd by Shipping therein.

THEY likewise coasted all that great Continent unto the Seas of *Tartary* and *Japan*,

pay, found it going and returning a very easy quick and safe Navigation, and the People much civiliz'd; and during the Voyage, though they did not (in the Places where they call'd) stay in the whole Ten Days, yet they obtain'd, by Barter with the Natives, above Fourſcore Pound Weight of pure Gold.

DIVERS other Parts of this Country were discover'd by the *English*, from ſeveral Colonies, long before the *French* had the leaſt Knowledge thereof. Colonel *Wood* in *Virginia* inhabiting at the Falls of *James* River, above 100 Miles Weſt of *Chesapeake* Bay, from the Year 1654 to 1664, diſcover'd at ſeveral Times, ſeveral Branches of the great Rivers *Ohio* and *Meſchacebe*. I was poſſeſs'd about Twenty Years ago of the Journal of Mr. *Needham* employ'd by the aforeſaid Colonel, and it is now in the Hands of, &c.

THE *English* have not only ſurvey'd by Land the greateſt Part of *Florida* and *Carolina*, but have been as induſtrious and ſucceſſful in their Attempts by Sea. The preſent Proprietary of *Carolina*, 23 Years ago, was poſſeſs'd of a Journal from the Mouth of the *Meſchacebe*, where it diſembogues itſelf into the *Mexican* Gulph, unto the Yellow or Muddy River, as they call it; which ſaid Journal was in *English*, and ſeem'd to have been written many Years before; together with a very large Map or Chart, with

with the Names of divers Nations, and short Hints of the chief Products of each Country. And by Modern Journals of *English* and *French*, the most material Parts thereof are confirm'd, the Nations, in divers Places there nam'd, continuing still in the same Stations, or very little remote. From a Confidence in these Journals, the *English* were encourag'd to attempt further Discoveries by Sea and Land. And the present Proprietary hath expended therein, for his Share only, above Nine Thousand Pounds, as he can easily and readily demonstrate.

THE last Year being 1698, the present Proprietary, at his own Expence, set out Two Ships from *England* well Mann'd and Victuall'd; order'd a *Barcolongo* to be bought at *Carolina*, purposely built for that Coast, and for Discovery of Shoals, Lagunes or Bays, and Rivers; As also all Materials for building and equipping another Ship in the Country. One of these Ships returning, was unhappily cast away upon the *English* Coast in a great Storm, but very providentially the Journal was sav'd, though all the Men were lost; which Journal contains an ample Account of the Country all along the Coast, which they represent as the most pleasant in the World, and abounding with all Things, not only for Necessity, but for the Comfort of Human Life. And amongst many others, there's a Draft of one of the most Capacious Harbors in the Universe, the most in-

ving Place imaginable for building a Town and establishing a Colony, the Adjacent Country being pleasant, fruitful, and a very great Tract of Land freed from Trees ready for Planting ; an excellent Quarry of Stone like that of *Portland*, and a great Oyster Bank almost touching the very Quarry, which will supply them with Lime, for many Ages ; besides many other Encouragements , which are comprehended in another Memorial.



D. COX.

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

PAGE 2. l. 17. read, *where*. p. 4. l. 28. r. *Carolina*. p. 9 l. 10. r. *their*. p. 10. l. 3. r. *their*. p. 11. last Line. r. *Choraguen*. p. 12. l. 16. dele *Nhio*. p. 15. l. 18. r. *Ozages*. p. 16. l. 16. r. *Pawcass*. p. 17. l. 19. r. *Illinowech*. l. 2 r. r. *Caracantanon*. l. ult. r. *sh*. p. 29. l. 10. r. *Palachean*. l. 11. r. *Guaxula*. p. 36. l. 6. r. *enter*. p. 41. l. 13. r. *all most*. p. 45. l. 13. r. *this*. p. 56. l. 11. r. *Onisima or Olongom*. p. 61 l. 29. r. *Carolina*. p. 63. l. 31. dele *especially America*. l. 32. dele *which*. dele *Nw*. l. 33. dele, and, add, *to*. p. 67. l. 24. r. *Hilum*. l. 33. r. *Narixinsky*. p. 76. l. 32. *between they and make*. add *may*. p. 83. l. 4. for *Florida*. r. *Mexico*. p. 88. l. 10. and 11. r. *Oronoque*. Besides some Errors in the Pointing, which the observing Reader may correct with his Pen.